**Revolution and Reaction in Germany** *Robert Greenstein*

# THE NEW REPUBLIC

*June 8, 1968, 40 cents*

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
JUN 4 1968
LIBRARY

**Irving Kristol** *Why I'm for Humphrey*

**Richard Gilman** *What Mailer Has Done*

**Dotson Rader** *More about Columbia*

**Robert Coles** *The Holy Spirit*

**Ed Dowling** *Color Us Black on TV*

**The Editors** *Two from Minnesota*

**Stanley Kauffmann** *Booms & Busts*

**Paul Wieck** *Oregon Primary*

05401
NEWSPAPER
NR UV95RLS 119 1 1172
UNIV OF VT
GUY W BAILEY
DEPT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# For the man who hates the thought of being average.

**The average man is doomed to a lifelong quarrel with being average. If you disagree, don't bother to read the rest of this ad—because it tells how Great Books can help you become an uncommon man.**

If you think that standing out from the crowd is a matter of using the brains and developing the potential God gave you, you're right. And Great Books can help you do just that.

It has been proved over and over again: Great Books hold a treasure of knowledge that can enrich your life. Great Books can stimulate creative thought, sharpen judgment and perception, help you gain mental stature.

### How to influence people

In the pages of Great Books you can make 74 new friends who can help you influence people.

You meet Sigmund Freud, and explore with him the fascinating world of dreams.

You meet James Boswell, and hear him reminisce about one of the most entertaining talkers of all time.

You meet an old Greek named Homer, who tells pulse-pounding tales of men at war.

These, and 71 other great writers and thinkers, are the authors of Great Books, a library of 54 superb volumes containing 443 masterpieces that have shaped our civilization by stretching the minds and raising the sights of people throughout history.

And Great Books can do the same for you.

### The Amazing Syntopicon

With Great Books—and only with Great Books—comes the amazing Syntopicon, a two-volume idea index that enables you to look up, in minutes, everything these authors have written on any given subject.

The Syntopicon indexes not only Great Books, but all the thoughts of the Bible, as well. Every idea in these thousands of pages becomes as easy to look up as a word in your dictionary. There is no other reference work anything like it.

The cost? About the same as a set of good luggage. And as easy to buy with Great Books' Direct-from-the-Publisher Payment Plan.

### 78 matchless values

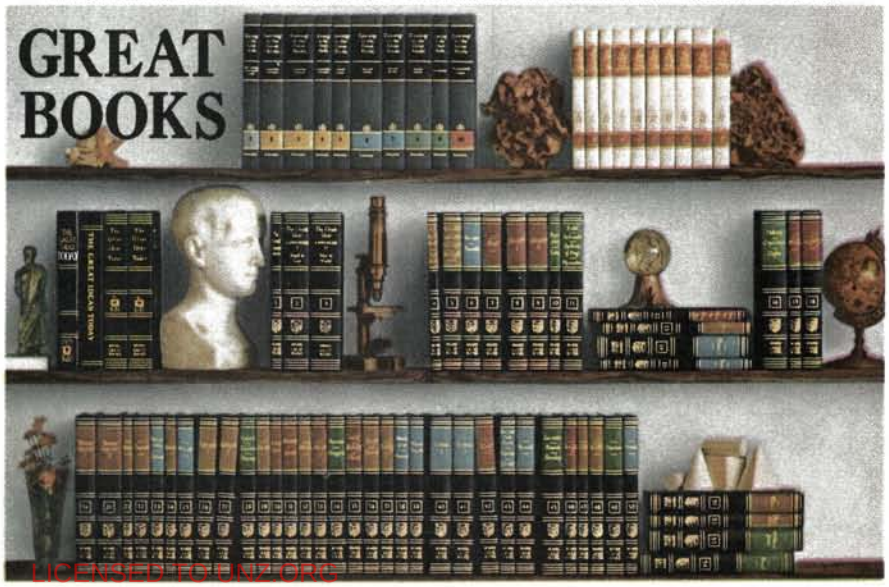
Also available are the handsome ten-volume Reading Plans and you may also obtain a remarkable ten-volume set called Gateway to the Great Books as well as the annual editions of Great Ideas Today—a total of 78 volumes, as illustrated below.

### FREE OFFER

It will cost you absolutely nothing to learn all the facts about Great Books and the reading program that helps you master them.

Just mail the attached card—no postage required—for a fully illustrated booklet and the whole fascinating story. Great Books, Dept. 170-L, 425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

The Great Books are published by Encyclopaedia Britannica in collaboration with the University of Chicago.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*a special service for our readers*

# THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTALL

You can buy any or all of the books in the select group below at substantial savings. Minimum order $5.00. Add 25c per order for postage and handling

**6. THE SENSE OF WONDER** by Rachel Carson with photographs by Charles Pratt and others. "An eloquent plea for parents to rekindle their own feeling for nature and help children use all their senses as avenues of delight and discovery," says the N.Y. Times. Now in paperback.
Reg. price $2.50 your price $1.99

**10. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOKBOOK,** edited by Craig Claiborne. An excellent standard cookbook consisting of 1,500 recipes tested in The New York Times kitchen. It emphasizes international dishes but includes enough typical American ones. A superior production. Illustrated.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

**15. THE PREVALENCE OF NONSENSE** by Ashley Montague and Edward Darling. This is scholarship rolling a hoop, revealing the cheerful or sometimes ghastly truths by which we live. Here are the errors which mankind accepts as gospel. A droll book by an outstanding anthropologist and a witty satirist.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

**19. THE LAWYERS** by Martin Mayer. Here are lawyers of all kinds: criminal, divorce, corporate, county-seat prosecutors, civil rights, and judges. And here is a lucid exposition of the law they practice and how it got to be that way. This top-flight reporter tells about fees and what lawyers do for their money. He discusses the skill of the profession, often in the words of lawyers themselves. Actually, the book deals with the real workings of the society we live in.
Reg. price $8.95 your price $7.15

**20. OUR CROWD: The Great Jewish Families of New York** by Stephen Birmingham. A fascinating view of one of the richest segments of a rich city: Jewish upper-class life in New York—vibrant, exotic, romantic, special. Fifth Avenue mansions where 60 sat down to dinner attended by as many footmen, castles in Westchester, villas in New Jersey, private railway cars, vast art collections, millions given away quietly and uncounted. These are remarkable individuals of resplendent dynasties. A superb social history.
Reg. price $8.95 your price $7.15

**24. ORBIT OF CHINA** by Harrison Salisbury. This leading journalist traveled 25,000 miles seeking from peasants and princes the story of China: war or peace between China and America, the Indian-Chinese struggle, the Sino-Soviet conflict. This is a narrative of personal experience and penetrating analysis.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

**28. THE NATURE OF HUMAN NATURE** by Alex Comfort. Man's origins and recent social evolution are freshly explored by a scientist and poet who reveals the basic human drives that motivate us. Anthony Burgess compares the author to Machiavelli, Voltaire and Bernard Shaw.
Reg. price $5.00 your price $4.00

**29. THE COLD WAR AS HISTORY** by Louis J. Halle. George F. Kennan says Prof. Halle "has given us . . . a view on the cold war that will have a lasting effect on the treatment of the cold war in historical literature." The Washington Post recommends that this book be a must for everyone involved in international affairs.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.59

**31. REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN** on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace. This highly controversial book has received wide coverage in magazines, newspapers and broadcasting. Some say it is a farce, others call it highly credible.
Reg. price $5.00 your price $3.95

**45. THE PUBLIC SPEAKER'S TREASURE CHEST** by H. V. Prochnow. A compendium of source material to make your speech sparkle. 1,069 jokes, 539 witticisms and epigrams, 233 amusing definitions, 109 famous lives, 1,313 quotations, 319 similes, 174 colorful phrases, 299 Bible quotations, 350 proverbs, plus directions on preparing and delivering an interesting speech.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.85

**46. EXPLORATIONS IN CREATIVITY** edited by Ross Mooney (Ohio State University) and Taher Razik (State University of New York). What is the nature of creativity, and why is man creative? How is the creative person able to maintain a continuing flow of freshness and vitality? How does one nurture creativity? Can tests measure originality? Do our society and educational system support the creative person? What kind of home best encourages creativity?
Reg. price $10.00 your price $7.95

**47. THE BLAST OF WAR** by Harold Macmillan. "Mr. Macmillan's memoirs of the Second World War are the best to appear in the English language since Churchill's . . . Mr. Macmillan . . . possesses that sense of history which puts the present into perspective and illuminates the past."—The London Times.
Reg. price $11.95 your price $9.55

**48. HOW CHILDREN LEARN** by John Holt. In his best selling "How Children Fail" John Holt revealed the startling failure of children to develop their native capacity for learning and creating. In "How Children Learn" he proves that this failure can be eliminated, and he challenges the adult world to do something about it.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

**49. HOW TO WRAP FIVE EGGS.** Japanese Design in Traditional Packaging by Hideyuko Oka. This book is a totally unexpected monument to a culture, a way of life, a universal sensibility carried through all objects down to the smallest, most inconsequential and ephemeral things. A book of exceptional beauty with 222 black and white and color plates.
Reg. price $15 your price $12

**50. THE NEW AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH** by Louis Heren. 75 years after Lord Bryce's great work, comes this astute evaluation of our present political institutions and processes by an English observer who has long studied the American scene at first hand. Mr. Heren, Chief Washington Correspondent of the London Times, has produced a landmark achievement.
Reg. price $7.95 your price $6.35

**51. THE WARS OF AMERICA** by Robert Leckie. Here for the first time is a comprehensive narrative of all our wars—from the first shots at the Iroquois in 1609 to the present struggle in Vietnam. This book sheds light on the American character and how it has been shaped by violent struggle.
Reg. price $11.95 your price $9.55

**52. THE FILM EXPERIENCE.** Elements of Motion Picture Art by Roy Huss and Norman Silverstein. Here is a book which will broaden the moviegoer's perception so that he may fully realize the experience of watching a film. The work of Antonioni, Griffith, Fellini, Godard, Hitchcock, Eisenstein, Bunuel and others is treated at length.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.55

**53. THE CONSUMERS UNION REPORT ON LIFE INSURANCE.** A Guide to Planning and Buying the Protection You Need by the editors of **Consumer Reports.** The chances are that you are spending a substantial amount of money on life insurance and receiving inadequate protection for your family. Much of the nation's 17 billion dollar outlay for insurance is spent unwisely. This book provides a rational approach to the buying of life insurance. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 your price $1.55

**54. A READERS GUIDE TO MODERN MEDICINE** by Dr. A. G. Dally. Hundreds of familiar medical terms are explained in this new and comprehensive account of all the functions and malfunctions of the human body. The book is organized for reading as well as a reference guide for every layman.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

**55. THE NEW INDIANS** by Stan Steiner. An Indian "uprising"—ideological, social, legal, political—is underway on the reservations. The "New Indians", college-educated, but contemptuous of industrial civilization and filled with a growing anger, are on the move. "Red Power" is their cry.
Reg. price $7.95 your price $6.35

**56. COMPARATIVE GUIDE TO AMERICAN COLLEGES** 1968 Editions by James Cass and Max Birnbaum. Recognized as the best college guide on the market —over 150,000 copies sold in the first two editions—this now becomes the most up-to-date as well. Paperback.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

**57. THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN.** Gesell.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.55

**58. YOUTH:** The Years from Ten to Sixteen. Gesell.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.55

**59. MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE IN DIGEST FORM:** First series. Edited by Frank N. Magill. Short readable summaries of over 500 of the world's best novels, plays, tales and epics. Sequence by sequence plots and discussions.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

**60. MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE IN DIGEST FORM:** Second Series.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

**61. MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE IN DIGEST FORM:** Third Series.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

**62. THE NAKED APE:** A Zoologist's Study of the Human Animal by Desmond Morris. Beneath the skin, the traits we exhibit—sexually, at play, and at war —are striking evidence of our close relationship with the animal world. The revelations of this book are startling and sobering, controversial and thought-provoking.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.80

**63. THE TRIUMPH** by John Kenneth Galbraith. This is a novel about rebellion in Latin America. It is a telling satire and a sobering commentary on American diplomacy and politics by a man ideally suited to write it.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

**64. THE ARMIES OF THE NIGHT** by Norman Mailer. Twenty years after "The Naked and the Dead," Mr. Mailer has finished another book about another kind of war: a chronicle of the four days of the October 1967 anti-Vietnam demonstrations in Washington. This is a voyage into the hopes and toils, the locks and exits, of our days and our life.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.80

**MINIMUM ORDER $5.00**

THE BOOKSTALL
P. O. Box 7796
Benjamin Franklin Station TNR060868
Washington, D. C. 20044

Please send the books whose numbers I have circled below.

6 10 15 19 20 24 28 29 31 45
46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64

I enclose $....., plus 25c postage and handling.

Name _____

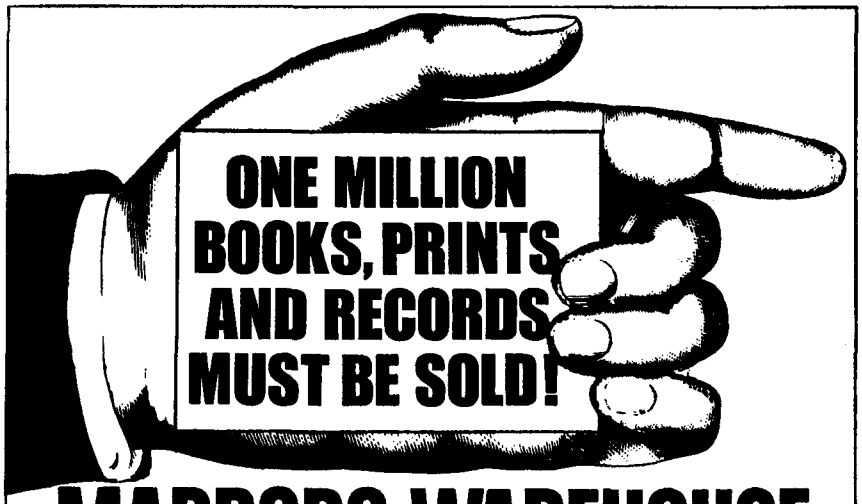
Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

*The New Republic* is published 48 weeks per year at $10, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc. 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



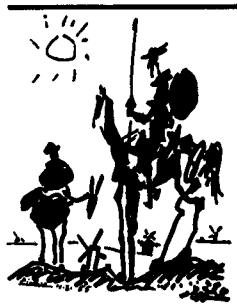

# MARBORO WAREHOUSE
# CLEARANCE SALE

## Orig. $5.95, now $1.00
## Orig. $12.00, now $1.98
## Orig. $15.00, now $2.98

**4805. ORNAMENTAL TREES FOR HOME GROUNDS.** By H. O. Perkins. A noted landscape architect's choice of 129 outstanding trees and shrubs (and 50 secondary recommendations)—every shape, size, and type, from floral to evergreen to shade, fruit and nut, with their requirements and seasonal effects. *Pub. at $4.50.* *Now Only* **1.49**

**4792. Mark Lane: RUSH TO JUDGMENT.** Intro. by Hugh Trevor-Roper. Controversial and cogently reasoned critique of the Warren Commission's inquiry into the murders of JFK, Officer Tippit and Oswald; finds the Report to be defective and unsound, and finds reasonable doubt of Oswald's guilt. 478 pp. *Pub. at $5.95.* *Extra Special* **1.00**

**4804. Agnes DeMille: THE BOOK OF THE DANCE.** Lavishly illustrated history of the dance: social, ritual and theatrical — OVER 400 ILLUS. IN COLOR & B/W—from earliest times to the present throughout the world; incl. personal interviews with leading choreographers of our time. 8½" x 11¾". *Orig. $14.95.* *New complete edition* **5.95**



**P-737. Picasso: *DON QUIXOTE.*** *ON GENUINE ARTISTS' CANVAS* — Picasso's tribute to the Man of La Mancha; a superb silkscreen after Picasso in black on white canvas. 20" wide x 24" high. *Special* **2.98**

**4796. HISTORY OF WATER COLOR PAINTING IN AMERICA.** Ed. by Albert Ten Eyck Gardner. Richly illustrated survey of American water color from its beginnings in the 18th century to the present—144 WATER COLORS, 50 IN FULL COLOR—works by Audubon, Winslow Homer, 50 others. *Orig. $22.50.* *New complete edition* **14.95**

**3643. NEW DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY.** Ed. by M. Martin & L. Gelber; rev. ed. by A. W. Littlefield. Names, places, events, catch-phrases; political, military and geographical coverage; plus aspects of science, invention, commerce and industry—thousands of entries. 695 double-column pages plus complete text of the Constitution. *Orig. $12.00.* *Special* **1.98**

**4801. THE ANNOTATED ANCIENT MARINER.** Intro. & Notes by Martin Gardner; Illus. by Gustave Dore. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, one of the world's most famous and beloved epic poems, full of symbol, supernatural occurrence, and moral implication, in a handsome, completely annotated edition. *40 Gustave Dore illus;* 8¼" x 11". *Orig. $7.50.* *New complete edition* **3.95**

**4905. A COLLEGE BOOK OF MODERN FICTION.** Ed. by Rideout & Robinson. Wonderful collection of 40 20th century American & British short stories & essays on modern fiction; incl. fiction by Catherine Porter, Faulkner, Hemingway, Malamud, Conrad, Lawrence, Graham Greene, Dylan Thomas, more. 690 pp. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Extra Special* **1.98**

**4800. LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARTH.** Ed. by L. Bertin, C. L. Fenton, et al; Fwd by Sir Vivian Fuchs. Comprehensive and authoritative account of the anatomy and history of our planet—*with 600 photos, 20 in full color, illustrating every aspect of earth science*—geology, mineralogy, paleontology, geo-physics, answers to all the how, where, when, why questions. *Special Import* **9.95**

**1463. ANANGA RANGA: The Hindu Art of Love Illustrated.** A magnificently illustrated edition of the classic ***Ars Amoris Indica,*** comprising a rich distillate of six centuries commentaries and elaborations upon the ***Kama Sutra's*** famous techniques in the pleasure of love. 25 illus. Complete and unexpurgated, 8½" x 11¼". *Orig. $15.00* *Only* **2.98**

**4785. LENINGRAD: History - Art - Architecture.** By Nigel Gosling. Gloriously illustrated panorama of the hereditary capital of the Tsars—250 PHOTOS & ART REPRODUCTIONS, 69 IN FULL COLOR—River Neva, Winter Palace, Peter & Paul Cathedral, Hermitage, Finland Station, ballet, stage, music, culture, more. 9¾" x 12¼". *Pub. at 25.00.* *Extra Special* **9.95**

**5523. EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY.** Text trans. from Mythologie Generale Larousse. Sumptuously illustrated volume bringing to life the myths and legends of ancient Egypt—Bast, the beautiful cat-goddess; the mystical union of the high gods, Horus, Osiris and Isis; Hathor, goddess of love and mother of all—the complete story of the Great Ones who ruled all Egyptian life for thousands of years. 151 illus., 25 in full color; 126 in gravure; 8¼" x 11". *Special import* **2.98**

**3538. FINDING THE HISTORICAL JESUS.** By J. F. Peter. Comprehensive account of the latest research in the quest for the best information about the historical Jesus as distinct from the Christ-myth; provocative questions about the necessity of the search, the possibility of success, and perhaps its disadvantages. *Orig. $4.50.* *Only* **1.98**

**4784. AUGUSTINE THE BISHOP.** By F. Van Der Meer. Monumental biography of Augustine's years as Bishop of Hippo: his daily life as priest and bishop, how he looked, what he wore, and what his people were like (Berber peasants, murderous Donatists, pagan intellectuals, quack astrologers, etc.)—based on original sources and archaeological data. 24 illus; 679 pp; Imprimatur. *Pub. at $17.50.* *Extra Special* **2.98**

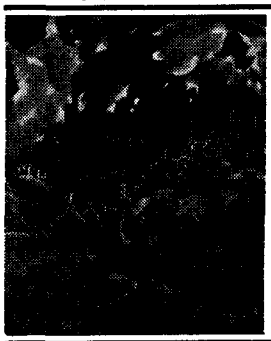
**4753. HARPER ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SCIENCE.** Ed. by James R. Newman (*World of Mathematics*). Fascinating encyclopedia exploration of scientific thought and achievement through the ages in both concise explanations and longer articles moving from Astronomy and Aeronautics to Logic, Mathematics, Zoology, much more, with even a Who's Who in science. *Over 2900 entries; 1,480 pp; 2500 illus., over 250 in color. Pub. at $35.00. Very Special* **19.95**

**4748. ARABIA FELIX.** By Thorkild Hansen. Unforgettable true story of the 1761 six-man Danish Expedition into Yemen's almost legendary interior; the first such expedition ever launched, with all the long-suppressed, meticulously documented details of excitement, danger, privation, and disaster. Orig. maps & drawings. *Pub. at $5.95.* *Special* **3.98**

**4747. JUSTICE IN JERUSALEM.** By Gideon Hausner. Israel's Chief Prosecutor reconstructs the Eichmann trial, its progress, conflicts and dilemmas regarding charges and old testimony, public opinion, the conviction and execution, with an agonizing history of the Nazi persecutions as they emerged in pretrial research and courtroom testimony. 528 pp; many photos. *Pub. at $12.50.* *Special* **4.98**

**4163. *Country Life* PICTURE BOOK of the LAKE DISTRICT IN COLOR.** Handsome pictorial tour of the most scenically beautiful area in England—45 FULL-PAGE COLOR PLATES—with text recalling the area's associations with Ruskin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, Tennyson, Southey, and many others. 9¼" x 11¼". *Special import* **1.98**

**4040. A DICTIONARY OF SYMBOLS.** By J. E. Cirlot; preface by Herbert Read. The first reference work to provide a central source for symbological studies, *with the essential, unvarying meaning of every symbol known to Oriental and Western man*—symbols from art, literature, myth, ritual, magic. 81 illus. *Orig. $12.00.* *Only* **2.98**



**P-536. El Greco: *VIEW OF TOLEDO.*** *ON GENUINE ARTISTS' CANVAS*—magnificent original silkscreen after El Greco in blues, greens, grays, with a lacquer finish; over 25 screens used in reproduction. 20" wide x 22" high. *Special* **9.95**

**3939. FINE FURNITURE FOR THE AMATEUR CABINETMAKER.** By A. W. Marlow. Practical, superbly illustrated guide to professional cabinetmaking techniques, from small cigarette boxes to chests & tables; scale drawings, photos & step-by-step instructions. 435 illus; 9½" x 11½". *Orig. $10.00.* *New complete edition* **2.98**

**3912. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE ARTS.** Ed. by D. D. Runes and H. G. Schrickel. 1064-page compendium of all the arts of all times and places, presented by more than 100 leading authorities. Thousands of definitions of terms and techniques, plus informative biographical and historical summaries. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **2.98**

**3608. AN ATLAS OF HUMAN GENETICS.** By Jean Rostand & Andree Tetry. Comprehensive visual presentation of the present knowledge of inheritance in a number of human conditions, innocent and pathological; explains sex-determination, color of eyes & hair, mental ability, multiple births, more. illus. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **2.98**

**3565. THE BOYS OF BOISE: Furor, Vice & Folly in an American City.** By John Gerassi. The true story behind the headlines of Boise's homosexual underworld scandal which involved scores of teen-agers, white collar workers, even reaching into the rarefied atmosphere of capitol politics. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

**1394. STORY OF THE IRISH RACE.** By Seumas MacManus; new revised edition. The whole saga of the Irish—from the time of Firbolg and the first Spanish-Milesian conquest through centuries of folklore, heroic legend and real-life derring do, the culture, arts, literature, history, the Risings, more. Over 700 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **3.95**

**5730. NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.** By C. Burland. Enthralling evidence of all stages of prehistoric belief completely lost to the Old World in the mists of time; describes the principal gods and heroes and recounts the typical beliefs of each region from the paleolithic hunters of the North to the more civilized Southern town-dwellers, from Eskimo to Sioux to Navajo. *191 illus., 31 in full color, printed in gravure;* 8¼" x 11¼". *Special import* **2.98**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**4802. MASTERS OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE.** By John Peter. The great works and ideas of 70 master architects: Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Neutra, Gropius, Saarinen, Mies Van Der Rohe, others. *With Over 225 Illus;* 9¾" x 13". *Orig. $15.00. New complete edition* **5.95**

**4798. THE ILLUSTRATOR IN AMERICA 1900 to 1960's.** Ed. by Walt Reed. The art of illustrating magazines, books, etc., chronicled from its earliest days to the sophisticated techniques of the 20th Century. OVER 600 EXAMPLES IN COLOR & B/W by 350 distinguished artists from Charles Dana Gibson to Norman Rockwell.
*Orig. $22.50. New complete edition* **14.95**

**4724. THE FALL OF PARIS: The Siege & The Commune.** By Alistair Horne. Vivid, absorbing account of Bismarck's siege of Paris with all its horrors—and of the bloody *Commune* which followed, piling 20,000 slaughtered citizens in Paris' already blood-soaked streets. Photos; 458 pp.
*Pub. at $6.95. Now Only* **2.98**

**P-801. HAIR:**
***The American Tribal Love-Rock Musical.***
Wild hypnotic poster for the Broadway show; in striking greens, reds, and sunburst gold. A full 28" wide x 38" high. *Very Special* **1.98**

**4711. Ten Volume Set: YOUNG AMERICA CLASSICS.** Handsome collection of the *basic children's classics,* with 3-piece bindings and stamped in gold; includes Black Beauty, Treasure Island, Robin Hood, Heidi, Andersen's & Grimm's Fairy Tales, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels, Jack And Jill, Huck Finn. *Over 3,000 pages; each vol. with line or block illus throughout & with several in color.*
*10 Volumes, Special* **14.88**

**4503. THE THERMIDORIANS & THE DIRECTORY: Two Phases of the French Revolution.** By G. Lefebvre. Superlative study of the events and personalities during the crucial 6-year period between the fall of Robespierre and the rise of Napoleon.
*Pub. at $6.95. Special* **2.98**

**7717. Bulfinch: MYTHOLOGY.** The complete *Age of Fable, Age of Chivalry* and *Legends of Charlemagne* in one volume—all the traditional tales of adventure, romance and chivalry from the Trojan War to Robin Hood, from classical through medieval times. 679 pp., index. *Special import* **1.98**

**3624. THE DARLING DAISY AFFAIR.** By T. Lang. The full story—for the first time—of the most closely guarded Royal secret of our day, the affair between Frances, Countess of Warwick and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII. 11 photos. *Pub. at $5.95. Only* **1.00**

**2583. TREASURY OF PHILOSOPHY.** By D. D. Runes. Over 1,300 pages covering the whole span of recorded philosophical thought and writing. Each selection begins with a biographical sketch of the philosopher. Nearly 400 great thinkers, both Oriental and Western, many not accessible in any other collection. *Orig. $10.00. Only* **2.98**

**1195. IN SEARCH OF YOUNG BEAUTY: A Venture into Photographic Art. By Charles Du Bois Hodges.** Over 100 portraits of young girls and boys, both clothed and unselfconsciously nude, depict the rare beauty inherent in the young body. 7¼" x 10".
*Orig. $8.50. Only* **3.98**

## Record Specials

**R941. Grand Prix Du Disque: DEBUSSY'S COMPLETE SOLO PIANO MUSIC.** *Over 50 works:* the complete Images, Children's Corner, Etudes, Preludes, Suite Bergamasque, Estampes, Arabesques, Hommage a Haydn, Berceuse Heroique, more; performed by the renowned Debussy interpreter, Werner Haas. **Stereo.** *5 Record Set, Only* **9.88**

**R942. Brahms: PIANO TRIOS (Complete).** The three Trios for piano, violin & cello, Opus 8, 87 and 101 PLUS the *first recording* of the Trio in A Major, Opus Posth; The Beaux Arts Trio; "Probably the finest trio in the country, perhaps the finest in the world," *Atlanta Journal.* **Stereo.**
*2 Records, Only* **3.88**

**R1973. MUSIC FOR LUTE, GUITAR & MANDOLIN.** 22 works: Paganini's Romanze for Guitar, Sor's Russian Memories for 2 Guitars, Beethoven's Guitar Quintet & 4 Pieces for Mandolin and Hpchd, Vivaldi's Cto for 2 Mandolins and Strings & Cto for Lute and Strings; Soloists, Vienna Pro Musica & Vienna Mandolin & Guitar Ensemble. **Stereo.**
*5 Record Set, Only* **9.88**

**R1902. Orig. Broadcast: Orson Welles' WAR OF THE WORLDS.** Original recording of the famous Orson Welles' 1938 Halloween prank about invasion from Mars—a broadcast that caused mass hysteria and panic throughout New York and New Jersey. **Mono.** *Orig. $4.79. Special* **2.98**

**4675. THE THIRD EYE: A New World of Exploratory Photography.** By Komroff, Resnick & Cramer. *The Third Eye* show widely exhibited throughout the US, Europe & Asia, for the first time in book form —*79 magnificent photographs* blending dazzling experimental techniques with poetic eloquence and the "inner world of timelessness"; with relevant technical data. 11" x 8¾". *Pub. at $7.50. Special* **2.98**

**4674. THE PURSUIT OF GREECE.** Ed. by Philip Sherrard; photos by Dimitri. Superb anthology revealing the "mood" of Greece, arranged in an itinerary that includes all the major areas of Greece, Crete and the Aegean Islands; selections by Aeschylus, Byron, D'Annunzio, Durrell, Graves, Homer, Nietzsche, Pindar, Sappho, Seferis, Rex Warner, many others. 33 photos. *Pub. at $8.95. Special* **3.98**

**4686. THE BOILER-PLATE WAR.** By J. Foley. Vivid account of WW I's first tanks, assembled right off the drawing boards and built of boiler-plate, of their magnificent successes (and unearned failures) —and of the men who manned them in adventures comparable to those of the fledgling air arm. 21 photos. *Pub. at $5.00. Special* **1.98**

**4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases.** Authorized, revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 700-pages; hardbound edition
*Special* **1.98**

**4508. VIEWS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD: THE FORMER PROPHETS.** Ed. by Prof. M. Avi-Yonah, et al. Visualizes the world of the Hebrew Bible, setting it in the historical and geographical framework of its time; prepared at the Univ. of Jerusalem, in consultation with renowned Protestant, Catholic & Jewish scholars. Over 400 illus., mostly in color; 8½" x 11½". *Pub. at $25.00. Special* **7.95**

**1904. POMPEII & HERCULANEUM.** Intro. by Sir Mortimer Wheeler; photos by Jan Lukas. Fascinating photographic excursion through the partially restored sites of the ancient Vesuvius disaster—160 SUPERB PHOTOS in GRAVURE—providing a true-to-life panorama of what Roman civilization was really like. 9" x 11". *Special import* **2.98**

**1353. A Pictorial Treasury—THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM.** A magnificent edition of one of the great treasures of world literature, *exquisitely illustrated in full color* by the noted Persian artist Sarkis Katchadourian. Printed on genuine rag paper. Beautifully bound, 7" x 10". *Special* **1.98**

**1809. AUBREY BEARDSLEY DRAWINGS.** Published in conjunction with the Museum of Modern Art Beardsley exhibition—151 DRAWINGS—from Lysistrata, Morte D'Arthur, Salome, Yellow Book, Savoy, Juvenal's VI Satire, Rape of the Lock, more. 8¾" x 11¼". *List Price $10.00. Special* **3.98**

**9457. MEXICAN & CENTRAL AMERICAN MYTHOLOGY.** By I. Nicholson. Handsomely printed, superbly illustrated introduction to Maya, Olmec, Zapotec, Mixtec, Totonac, Toltec & Aztec mythologies and their interrelationships—159 ILLUSTRATIONS IN GRAVURE, 27 IN FULL-COLOR of the best in PERIOD ART—with lucid discussions on Time & Eternity, Twins of Popol Vuh, Quetzalcoatl Myth, the Calendar, the Ball Game, much more. 8¼" x 11¼". *Special import* **2.98**

**4810. Lillian Ross: TALK STORIES.** Some 60 of Lillian Ross' perceptive, intelligent, and often funny *New Yorker* Talk of the Town stories: encounters with the UN, Broadway, Greenwich Village, Robt Kennedy, Jonas Salk, Mostel, Lassie, Albee, Horowitz, Aznavour, and much more. *Orig. $5.95. Only* **1.00**

**4809. Christopher Isherwood: EXHUMATIONS.** 36 superb early and late stories, articles, and verses, many previously unpublished in this country, including cameos of Virginia Woolf and Klaus Mann, articles on Vedanta, reviews of *Parade's End* and Baudelaire's *Intimate Journals,* and more fascinating Isherwood*iana.*
*Pub. at $5.00. Extra Special* **1.00**

**4500. PAY NOW, DIE LATER.** By J. Gollin. Sizzling expose of US insurance industry practices: huge profits, shocking wastes, false promises, often dubious motives and strategies; plus inside advice on best & cheapest policies, etc.
*Pub. at $5.95. Special* **1.98**

**2254. FANNY HILL: John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure.** Intro. by Peter Quennell. Widely acclaimed as the classic English erotic novel as well as a distinctive literary portrait of its times; the complete, unexpurgated edition.
*Orig. $6.00. Only* **1.98**

**3730. LONDON ON THE THAMES.** By Blake Ehrlich, author of *Paris On The Seine.* Handsome, beautifully flavored grand tour through 2000 years of London history, politics, architecture, arts, and social refinements—from the Londons of Pater Tamesis and Dick Whittington to those of Oscar Wilde, Sherlock Holmes and Churchill. *125 rare engravings;* handsomely bound.
*Pub. at $8.95. Very Special* **2.98**

**P-519. Picasso: GUERNICA.**
**On Genuine Artists' Canvas**—silkscreen reproduction after Picasso's masterpiece, proclaiming his horror of the mass bombardment of the Basque village, Guernica, during the Spanish Civil War; in grays, blacks and yellows. 16" high x 35" wide image area.
*Special* **6.95**

**P-520.** The above on heavy art stock. *Special* **3.95**

**6293. Sartre: BEING AND NOTHINGNESS.** Trans. & Intro. by Hazel E. Barnes. Jean-Paul Sartre's *magnum opus,* a *sine qua non* for understanding Existentialism and its importance as one of the leading philosophical movements of our time. Over 700 pp.
*Orig. $10.00. Only* **2.98**

**3762. The Bronte Sisters: FOUR NOVELS.** Four novels-in-one volume: Jane Eyre, Wuthering Heights, Agnes Grey, and Villette by Charlotte, Emily, and Anne—their greatest works in one edition of *1,140 PAGES.* *Special import* **2.98**

# MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

**marboro Dept.NR-154, 131 Varick St., New York, N.Y. 10013**

Please send me, the bargains circled below. **(Please add 35c postage and handling on all orders under $10.) MINIMUM MAIL ORDER $3.**

☐ Ship C.O.D.* ☐ Enclosed find $ _____

Charge my (check one) & write in your account # ☐ Amer. Exp. ☐ Diners Club ☐ Carte Blanche ☐ Uni-Card ☐ First Nat'l City Everything Card } Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

_____ the amount of $_____

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1195 | 1353 | 1394 | 1463 | 1809 | 1904 | 2254 | 2583 | 3538 | 3565 | 3608 |
| 3624 | 3643 | 3730 | 3762 | 3912 | 3939 | 4040 | 4163 | 4500 | 4503 | 4508 |
| 4667 | 4674 | 4675 | 4686 | 4711 | 4724 | 4747 | 4748 | 4753 | 4784 | 4785 |
| 4792 | 4796 | 4798 | 4800 | 4801 | 4802 | 4804 | 4805 | 4809 | 4810 | 4905 |
| 5523 | 5730 | 6293 | 7717 | 9457 | | | | | | |
| R941 | R942 | R1902 | R1973 | | | | | | | |
| P519 | P520 | P536 | P737 | P801 | | | | | | |

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ **Check here if you receive monthly bargain circular.** New York City residents add 5% sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. Add 25¢ per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions. 10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

**VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP**

**NEW YORK:** 47 W. 42 St. ● 56 W. 8 St. ● 144 W. 57 St. ● 966 3rd Ave. (58th St).
**PHILADELPHIA:** King of Prussia Plaza (Rts 202, 23) at Valley Forge Exit ● Roosevelt Mall Shopping Center, Roosevelt Blvd. & Cottman St., (Next to Klein's)
**MIAMI:** 96 Miracle Mile, Coral Gables
**CINCINNATI:** 525 Vine St.
257 Swifton Center (Facing Reading Road)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# T.R.B.

## from Washington

*It's Nixon*

★ So far as we can see Richard Nixon is going to get the GOP nomination, and the Oregon result strengthens the view. All he wants is to take us back to Herbert Hoover. He would curb the Supreme Court. He's against crime (and you can define "crime" as anything from mugging to civil rights demonstrations). He takes a tough line on Vietnam. He's patriotic as all get-out. He would like to help the Negroes and slums but how can we with our present deficit? And nothing would help the poor more anyway, he says, than a sound dollar.

Most reporters cover politics like baseball; it's a sporting event. But Nixon has been stating his position and deserves study. In a detailed position paper he says a new political coalition is shaping up. What are his words? . . . hm, hm . . . "The nation in its present crisis cannot afford an increase in these giant welfare programs today"? . . . No, that's not it! . . . Oh yes – he says, "the Republicans, the New Liberals, the New South, the black militants are talking the same language." What is this "language"? They all want to reduce big government, he says, and escape federal control. A "new alignment" is forming.

To us this is just silly. When the South and black militants get into the same boat we want to watch – from another boat.

Nixon is a lot more relaxed and confident than he used to be, and a more effective campaigner. We shall have to wait to see whether he buckles under pressure, as he used to do. But his views on public affairs strike us as so old-fashioned as to be dangerous. A gust of national frustration could well elect him.

Messrs. Kennedy and McCarthy, before the Oregon vote, were making some pretty strong promises to Israel in the way of military aid. Maybe they want to show they are "doves" only on Vietnam, and want the Jewish vote. This is legitimate enough, but not to the point where they seem to be offering blank checks. There are hawks and doves in Israel, too, and they are in a critical debate. We think there is great danger of World War III in the Middle East, probably more so than in Vietnam. If the murderous tension is to be reduced there must be ultimate concessions on both sides. Israel should feel she has strong support in the United States but not the kind of support that gives her hawks a free hand. Some recent campaign utterances, as we uneasily read them, seem to leave this implication.

*Fairy Tale*

★ We had almost forgotten the SACB, the Subversive Activities Control Board, whose five $26,000-a-year members have nothing to do. It's rather soothing and relaxing to think about it; in all the tumult of Washington it's nice to imagine the five men coming into their office every day, giving a quiet little nod to the memory of Joe McCarthy as they walk down the corridor, then putting their heels on their desks and unfolding *Human Events* as they wait for the next salary check.

In 17 years the SACB has never registered a single communist. The Supreme Court ruled that such registration would be self-incrimination. Last year Congress was going to let the board expire but agreed to let it have one more year, with a deadline of Dec. 31 to find a case.

There's a Hans Christian Anderson quality about the situation. One board member was recommended by Everett Dirksen and another given his job by President Johnson as a kind of going-away present to the 27-year-old bridegroom of a White House secretary. We need more romance and sentiment in this prosaic city.

Nobody appreciates this more than Dirksen, the Illinois pixie with the stained-glass voice. What an inelegant way to put it! – say, rather, that Sir Everett is a white knight who has gone on holy quest many a time against that nine-headed Monster, the Supreme Court.

One quest was against the school prayer decision; another the one-man, one-vote decision; another that quixotic mission to hold a constitutional convention.

He announced to a bemused Senate last week that since the Attorney General wouldn't bring registration cases before SACB he was offering a rider to the pending crime bill, permitting any attorney general of any of the 50 states to bring in such cases. It would be an extraordinary invasion of federal authority and give SACB loads of work.

The Senate rejected the idea, 27-49. But the Plumed Knight of Pekin announced that he would offer the same rider hereafter on every available bill, and noted piteously that Congress has only about 50 days left to save SACB, provided it quits Washington Aug. 2.

*"Don't Nobody"*

★ Under the government's crop reduction program farmers are paid for not producing crops. On May 21, in its hour-long documentary, "Hunger in America," CBS showed a tenant farmer's wife in Alabama whose landlord had previously let her husband use a few acres free to raise corn. But now, she said, "the landlord said he sold the acres to the government." She was asked, "So then who plants the corn?"

"Don't nobody plants none," she said simply. "Just the land for the corn lays up and it's nothing." The corn had stood between the family and hunger.

Senator Williams (R, Del.) put into the *Congressional Record*, May 23, the names of all those getting US farm subsidies in 1967 over $50,000. The system sustains prices and helps the poor farmer, no doubt. Also the Hawaiian Sugar Co., which got $1,353,-000; the US Sugar Corp., Fla., $1,275,-000; the South Lake Farms, Calif., $1,304,000; the Rancho San Antonio, Gila Bend, Ariz., $2,863,000, and J. G. Boswell Co., Ariz., $4,091,000. They get this for not producing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Opinion Volume 158 Number 23 Issue 2792 June 8, 1968*
*Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1968 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT 9-13
Two from Minnesota, Caring for the Wounded, Buying on Time, Korea War Talks, Crime Bill
The Oregon Primary – *Paul R. Wieck* 14
Vacation in Mexico? – *David Sanford* 16
Readying the Reserves for Civil Disturbance – *George Merlis* 17
Revolution and Reaction – *Robert Greenstein* 18
Why I Am for Humphrey – *Irving Kristol* 21
More About Columbia – *Dotson Rader* 23
Booms and Busts – *Stanley Kauffmann* 26
What Mailer Has Done – *Richard Gilman* 27
BOOKS – *Reviews by Leo Bersani, Robert Coles, Simon Lazarus, Lawrence Graver* 32
DOCUMENTARY – *Richard M. Cohen* 40
TELEVISION – *Ed Dowling* 41
CORRESPONDENCE 43

THE STAFF

*Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison*
*Managing Editor – Alex Campbell*
*Literary Editor – Richard Gilman*
*Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann*
*Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone*
*Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin*
*Copy Editor – Lucille Davis*

*Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, John Osborne, Paul Wieck*

*S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant*

*Publisher – Garth Hite*
*Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman*
*Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen*

*New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017*

*Office of Literary Editor – 17 Charlton St., New York, N.Y. 10014*

# Two from Minnesota

Senator McCarthy's victory in Oregon gives heart to those who believe a change of leadership is right for the Democratic Party, right for the country, and that McCarthy is the right man to lead it. As a personification of integrity, courage and intelligence McCarthy has always enjoyed wide respect. His loyal, tenacious young volunteers have been widely applauded. Now, it's time to go way beyond that and start taking him more seriously as the man who can be, as well as should be, nominated and elected as President.

The source and the driving force of the McCarthy movement has been opposition to the policies of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in Vietnam. It is a mistake to assume, as many do, that because of the Paris talks, or because Lyndon Johnson is no longer a candidate, Vietnam is not a paramount political issue. It is paramount because if there are to be "no more Vietnams," US foreign policy will have to be guided by those who have learned the lessons of Vietnam, who understand how we came to be involved in it and how such entrapments can be avoided in the future. And Vietnam is paramount in the more immediate sense that it is still very much with us. The Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul H. Nitze, has stated that by the end of this year, US forces in Vietnam will total 549,000 – 24,000 more than the number planned last January. On May 21, the President asked Congress for an increase in the supplemental appropriation for Vietnam of $3.9 billion (from $23.8 billion to $27.7 billion). And during the week the talks opened in Paris, American casualties (562) were the highest of the war; the second highest, 549, coming the following week. There is no promise of the war's abating, no sign that the Administration's conditions for ending it have been moderated, no suggestion that any basic reappraisal of the American role is under way. Hanoi continues to demand a cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the North. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration demands that Hanoi pull back its forces. This is the setting in which to place the two candidates from Minnesota, Senator McCarthy and Vice President Humphrey, and this is the background against which the claims of each to leadership of his party and his country should be viewed.

Hubert Humphrey is no stick-in-the-mud. He is adaptable, open to new ideas, generous. As the man in charge, rather than the man in tow, he would say and do many things for which the record had not prepared us. But the record, Humphrey's past statements and beliefs,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. They are, if nothing else, a clue to future performance. And the same applies to Senator McCarthy. It is proper, therefore, to contrast the thoughts of these two men from Minnesota on foreign policy in general and Vietnam in particular. Addressing the National War College, June 1, 1965, the Vice President said: "We have seen the communists who control and direct the war from Hanoi . . . portray the struggle as a civil war – in which the 'popular forces' are arrayed against 'American imperialism.' It is this new sophisticated form of warfare that is becoming the major challenge to our security and to the security of all free nations. . . . The supreme challenge today is to prove to our communist foes and our freedom-loving friends that the new face of war is no less pernicious than the old – and that it can be defeated by those of strong mind, stout heart and a steel will." "In many areas of the world," he continued, "the United States has inherited the role of protector and defender of non-communist nations which are under communist assault. . . . Our perseverance in this struggle is required in all areas – not just the military. . . . Liberals must learn that there are times when American power must be used, and that there is no substitute for power in the face of determined terrorist attack."

Two years later, US power having been used massively, but inconclusively, Mr. Humphrey discerned the justification in a parallel with the rise of fascism and Japanese militarism. "Who knows," he told the Democratic National Committee, "but what had we stopped Hitler in the Rhineland when he broke the Versailles Treaty, we might not have ever had World War II. Who knows but what had the Japanese been stopped in Manchuria that there never would have been a Pearl Harbor. One thing we do know: that you do not satisfy the appetites of an aggressor by handing him pieces of territory." Thus Ho Chi Minh the Vietnamese, fighting in and for his own country, was made into another Hitler or Tojo, and a threat to us.

By March of 1967, the bombing having gone on for two years, it seemed clear to many that it had not succeeded in intimidating Hanoi, had not stopped or even significantly slowed down infiltration. Yet the Vice President had no doubt that it should be kept up. "If you don't think that when you stop the bombing the rate of infiltration of men and supplies increases, then I'm afraid, my dear friends, that the case is hopeless to explain to anybody." He was confident of the outcome in Vietnam, for "militarily we have power there that is beyond anything in that area the world has ever known." Too committed a civil libertarian to question any man's right to disagree, Humphrey was nevertheless of the opinion that "most of our critics about Vietnam are the people that have never been there, and are writing about it from a great distance." Those who had been there knew, as he did last year, that "instead of the Viet Cong having their bases untouched, they retreat. That is number one. Number two, there has been a great election held in South Vietnam for a constituent assembly. . . . Agricultural production is up. Roads are being opened up. Provinces that were once held by the Viet Cong are being cleaned out. The military are strong. The overwhelming power of men and matériel of the United States moves on." Eight months later, having returned from Vietnam, the Vice President was even surer that "we can win." "We have no choice," he told the grocery manufacturers, "but to stand strong and last it out – with both power and compassion – not only for those who strive for freedom in Asia, but for the future of our own American children." Again the litany of progress: "By all measures – roads open, villages cleared, enemy casualties and desertions, we are winning militarily." Once more, the thesis that a containment formula devised two decades earlier for Europe was the proper formula for countering "malignant Asian communism."

The record is as consistent as it is long. "I happen to believe," Mr. Humphrey said on the 25th of last month in St. Louis, "that the basic foreign policy directions of the Administration – the Johnson Administration – have been sound and necessary."

What a contrast to McCarthy! It did not take the Tet offensive or the mounting casualty lists to persuade McCarthy that our intervention in Vietnam and the thinking that lay behind it were corrupting the national interest: "Vietnam was no accident. It originated in the containment doctrine of the 1950's. The assumptions of this period were built into institutions – the State Department, the CIA, the military. The assumptions have become articles of faith and gradually have escaped any kind of accountability in our national policies. The institutions embodying these policies assumed unprecedented power – and out of a sort of University of the Cold War came leaders who have

COMING: *Thruston Morton tells why he supports Nelson Rockefeller for President*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been guiding our foreign policy ever since. . . . The same assumptions, institutions and leaders found in the past three years a new champion in Vice President Humphrey. At the very time when American foreign policy grew more disastrous, Vice President Humphrey became its most ardent apologist. Not merely did he defend the war; he defended every assumption which produced the war – America's moral mission in the world, the great threat from China, the theory of monolithic communist conspiracy, the susceptibility of political problems to military solutions, and the duty to impose American idealism on foreign cultures."

McCarthy did not buy the Johnson-Humphrey assertion that the North Vietnamese (and the Viet Cong, presumably) are some "foreign" element in South Vietnam, or that the North has been an "aggressor" against Saigon whose "sovereignty" depended entirely on American will. "Here is a war," McCarthy said, "in which no one can quite say when the decision to enter was made – no one is quite clear about what our purposes are. We've had a kind of escalation of purpose followed by an escalation of military commitment, followed by another escalation of objective or stated purpose. Starting with giving minimal aid to a government in South Vietnam which we said had strength to survive; then going to a second purpose, nation-building in South Vietnam, which was something of a different order. Then, when the military commitment rose above that kind of objective, the explanation given was that we were preserving and protecting all of Southeastern Asia. And then the military commitment rose above that, so it was said that we were really involved in the security of the United States. And finally, last October, Secretary Rusk began to talk about what would happen to us in the year 2000 – not content with the dangers of the present but saying that what really we're doing is saving America from a billion Chinese who will be alive by [then]."

We know where McCarthy stands: "If you can't get agreement on coalition, the South Vietnamese must carry on for themselves" (California); the war "is no longer militarily defensible or politically or economically defensible" (Connecticut); "I think we could leave Vietnam and in no way endanger other parts of Southeast Asia. And as a matter of fact, some parts would probably be in less danger than they are now" (Indiana); "the cold war as a concept is one which has outlived its usefulness" (Pennsylvania); "this war is un-American, contrary to our principles and contrary to our traditions and one which has distracted us from both our domestic responsibilities and also from our international responsibilities" (Nebraska).

This is the right man from Minnesota, a man to lead the dialogue – between black and white and young and old Americans, and between the US and the world.

# Caring for the Wounded

Before the Tet offensive, 150,000 civilians in South Vietnam were wounded each year because of the war. Of that number between 20,000 and 50,000 died before they could get to a hospital. Most of the wounded civilians go without attention for a day or so, then find their way to one of the 43 provincial hospitals, many of them lacking electricity, proper drinking water or sanitary facilities. The South Vietnamese have only 150 doctors free to treat a civilian population of 16 million. There are 900 nurses in the country. Upwards of 200 foreign doctors have come to help out.

These statistics come from a new report issued by Sen. Edward Kennedy, whose subcommittee on refugees has been investigating treatment of refugees and civilians in Vietnam.

While the Johnson Administration always has said it does everything possible for civilian casualties, a General Accounting Office survey made for Kennedy reveals that treating wounded civilians has not been regarded with any urgency. Most of our efforts are made through AID, which in turn comes under the pacification program in the rural sections of the country. At the Guam conference which the President attended in March 1967, an AID briefing paper stated: "Neither the US mission in Saigon nor the South Vietnamese government advocate a radical acceleration in the presently planned steady expansion of the civilian medical assistance effort. They do not consider the overcrowding of hospitals or limited access to medical treatment in remote areas critical to our success in the political-psychological side of the war effort. They assign much higher priority to improving Vietnamese capacity to respond to popular needs for local security and other aspects of the revolutionary development effort. They have not sought to give hospital construction and airlift priority over certain military requirements which have generally preempted military capacity to meet these civil needs."

After Guam, the Defense Department announced it would build three new hospitals for civilian casualties and admit a limited number of civilians to military hospitals. These hospitals have been slow in building, and according to the subcommittee, they are now likely to be used primarily for military casualties, and only secondarily for civilians. The US is spending $37 million for civilian medical care, compared with $5 million in 1965; but still, Kennedy's subcommittee found conditions little changed.

The refugees living in camps are supposed to get money to help them resettle, but a GAO survey of 13,000 refugees near Pleiku showed that 10,000 had never received a penny, although the South Vietnamese



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

records showed they had been paid. The money, of course, went into the pockets of the South Vietnamese officials. AID takes a light view of this sort of thing. A briefing paper says: "Re: Side losses – graft, payroll padding, wasteful local purchasing from preferred contractors, favoritism – you must tolerate a certain amount of this. Do not let your morals get in the way of project operations. Remember you can never prove it exists so you might as well tolerate it in reasonable amounts."

Estimates suggest that about one-fifth of the civilian wounded are children. The Committee of Responsibility, Inc., a private group in New York, has raised $300,000, got together teams of doctors, and wants to bring out between 30 and 40 of the most severely wounded children each month to US hospitals where they can get decent treatment, then send them back home. But since it started operations last fall, the committee has only been able to get 16 children through the South Vietnamese government's red tape. The South Vietnamese are not anxious for the children to get out, lest they turn more people against the war. So, before a child is permitted to come, he must be approved by teams of doctors, the ministries of health, interior, finance, the bureau of police, and, if a male and even though he is an amputee, by the ministry of defense which wants to make sure he isn't evading the draft. One child died waiting to be cleared through the red tape; another lost his sight.

Last week the committee reported encountering another kind of difficulty. A representative went to the hospital at Can Tho to pick up a 15-year-old girl who had been approved to come to the US. She had a bullet lodged in her spine and was paralyzed. On arrival at the hospital, the US Air Force surgeon, who had been in charge of the girl's case, told the committee representative that he discharged her from the hospital because he did not care to have any of his patients exploited in any way by some of the left-wing groups in the United States.

# Buying on Time

On May 15, the day the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy was speaking to congressmen about the poor, a House-Senate conference committee approved a compromise truth-in-lending bill which had been struggling to be born for more than eight years. Passed late last month by both houses, it will now become law. The compromise will principally benefit credit buyers: merchants will have to disclose the true annual interest on revolving charge accounts. No longer will it be permissible to quote only a deceptive monthly interest rate (say one and one-half percent) when the consumer is actually paying a legal but usurious 18 percent a year. And when stores advertise $5 down, $5 a month, they will have to state as well the annual interest rate. A small but needed reform. The legislation will also protect those who default on payments from losing everything to garnishment.

The provision on garnishment provides that a buyer in default must be able to keep $48 or 75 percent of his wages, whichever is greater, after a garnishment. The 75 percent or $48 of his salary is taken from net pay after taxes. For example, if a man earns $125 a week gross and gets $100 net, $75 will be exempt and the creditor can garnishee $25. If the net pay is $48 or less, it would all be exempt. The act is fashioned in such a way that the flat $48 exemption will go up proportionately if the federal minimum wage law is increased. An employer will be forbidden to fire an employee on first attachment, which will save the jobs of many. The bill also sets up a National Commission on Consumer Finance that can make recommendations to Congress for further legislation.

The chief drawback is that the restrictions on garnishment do not go into effect until July 1, 1970. (The truth-in-lending rules go into effect July 1, 1969.) Between now and July 1, 1970, there will be over eight million wage garnishments, and by Labor Department's estimates between 200,000 and 600,000 workers will lose their jobs as a result. Yet it is surprising that the garnishment provision survived at all. The collection agencies put tremendous pressure on Congress to kill it, telling the legislators it would "ruin" the poor person's chance to obtain credit.

# Korea War Talk

If the Korean War resumes after a 15-year truce, who will do the fighting? The United States has 50,000 troops in South Korea, which has 50,000 troops in South Vietnam. But despite such mutual involvements, the American people, who want no more Vietnams, would balk at getting into another Korean war, especially with Vietnam still going on. Few or no members of the United Nations, feeling the way that most of them do about this country's role in Vietnam, would range themselves alongside us in Korea as they did in 1950. Then, the UN Security Council voted promptly for a unified command in South Korea under the UN flag, and 16 nations sent troops to be commanded by an American general. It won't happen twice.

Some American officers in Seoul have been suggesting that North Korea aims to restart the war, and that both North and South still itch to reunify the country by force. Is it with that in mind that South Korean



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Park asks for more arms and other aid from Washington? Economic aid has been running at about $200 million a year, military at around $150 million. President Johnson is requesting from Congress an extra $100 million of military aid for South Korea this year. Since 1946, South Korea has had close to $7 billion of American economic and military aid.

Certainly there has been in recent months a rise in "incidents." A team of assassins from the North very nearly succeeded in killing President Park. At the end of January, the North Koreans seized the spy ship *Pueblo* and its 81-man crew, and President Park has said that this country should fight a war for return of the ship. The State Department's explanation, that the lives of the ship's crew were and are at stake and are more important, seemed to strike him as pathetic weakness. Similarly, in 1962, Park's North Korean counterpart, communist boss Kim Il Sung, despised Khrushchev as a coward for pulling Soviet missiles out of Cuba. But the US doesn't want to fight another war in Asia under its own flag, or at all. The United Nations is unlikely to intervene as it did earlier. That leaves it to Washington and Moscow to keep the lid on. If the situation is as dangerous as some American military in Seoul say it is, they should be in earnest conversation now, not waiting until events push them into using the "hot line" between the White House and the Kremlin.

# Crime Bill

The Senate has passed, and sent to a House-Senate conference committee, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Bill (*NR*, May 25). With one major exception, it is essentially the Senate Judiciary Committee's. The exception is that the bill as passed does not suspend the writ of habeas corpus for persons convicted of crime in state courts, and does not otherwise attempt to deprive the Supreme Court of jurisdiction to review the admissibility in evidence of confessions and eyewitness identifications in state criminal trials. The Senate Judiciary Committee draft included provisions on habeas corpus and jurisdiction, but they were struck by amendment on the floor.

Efforts to strike also provisions purporting to overrule Supreme Court decisions that tightened rules on the admissibility of confessions and of eyewitness identification failed. And so the bill as approved heads for a constitutional clash with the Supreme Court by attempting to authorize the use of evidence (confessions, for example, and eyewitness identification, obtained without making counsel available to the defendant) which the Court has said the Constitution excludes. But as things turned out in the process of rewriting the bill on the floor, the congressional authorization applies only in federal trials. The stricter rules formulated by the Supreme Court may continue to prevail in state criminal trials. The Judiciary Committee had intended to ensure that state courts could follow rules of their own choosing, by suspending habeas corpus and depriving the Supreme Court of power to review. But the habeas corpus and jurisdictional provisions fell. So the rather random result was achieved of tightening the rules in federal courts, which deal only with a narrow and special category of crimes, and leaving them undisturbed, as formulated by the Supreme Court, in state courts, which alone have anything to do with safe streets, if any courts do. Not quite a rational outcome, let alone an intelligent one, from the viewpoint of the authors of the bill!

Title I of the bill was improved by adoption of the Percy amendment which encourages police departments to recruit Community Service Officers. But the bill still effectively exempts its program of grants-in-aid to law enforcement agencies from Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Thus, no significant federal pressure will be exerted as part of this program for the employment of Negro police officers. This is a very serious flaw in Title I, and it has received too little attention.

A wiretapping title goes far beyond reasonable intrusions on privacy in cases where the demands of public safety or national security can be viewed as truly exigent. Subject to judicial permission – except briefly in case of so-called emergency, the bill allows extensive wiretapping and electronic spying by the FBI, and it allows state law enforcement agencies to tap and otherwise listen in cases involving crimes punishable by more than one year in jail, which is to say in all but trivial criminal cases. That is much too much.

There is no telling what will emerge out of the House-Senate conference committee, but there is a great deal in the bill as it now stands that would justify, indeed in good conscience require, a presidential veto.

## *In Support of A Thesis that Human Events are Mainly Human Events*

"Young Russia is talking about nothing but the eternal questions now. Just when the old folks are all taken up with practical questions. . . . The eternal questions, of the existence of God, and immortality. And those who do not believe in God talk of socialism and anarchism, of the transformation of all humanity on a new pattern."

*The Brothers Karamazov*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*The Oregon Primary*

# Eugene McCarthy Hits His Stride

Somehow, it seems a little incredible, glancing back a few days, that Bobby Kennedy and his wife, Ethel, were able to walk through the Portland zoo on a pleasant Sunday afternoon just before the Oregon primary without causing much of a stir at all. Quite a few kids after autographs, camera crews. But no cheers, no fingers raised in a victory sign.

It seems just as incredible that, as the Kennedy party was preparing to leave after a ride on the zoo's train and a quick hike down to Portland's famous rose garden, a shout went up from nearby and there was Gene McCarthy, smiling as he towered above a throng of cheering fans, fingers raised in the victory sign that has become the private greeting among McCarthyites.

And, moments later, Bobby Kennedy speeding off in his open convertible, avoiding even a social gesture in Portland's rose garden. What does a Gene McCarthy getting the cheers as a Bobby Kennedy flees the scene (that's hardly in the Kennedy image) tell you? That Gene's advance men did a better job than Bobby's? That's not the script we're used to reading, either. But on the West Coast that week, a few thousand miles from Indiana and Nebraska, McCarthy recovered his political poise for the first time since that weird set of happenings that left him with two new opponents. Shifting his strategy a bit, he incessantly ridiculed Kennedy, for bringing along his dog, "Freckles," which McCarthy insisted didn't help clear up the issues; for refusing to debate, which he insisted would.

By the time McCarthy carried his campaign to Oregon, Robert Kennedy was not only on the defensive, forced to explain innumerable times daily why he wouldn't debate McCarthy without Vice President Humphrey on stage (McCarthy said such a trio in debate would be like "tag wrestling") and apologizing for his earlier role in Vietnam; Kennedy also found his campaign going flat.

It went flat because the "new politics" as the Kennedy "think tank" sees it is nothing but a computerized version of all the techniques of the "old politics," with a stress on spending huge sums on the mass media, manipulating voter blocs (in particular, the racial and ethnic groups), taking fairly conventional stands on issues, and applying pressure on the "pros" in the convention states. The "key" is not issues but, instead, a showing of irresistibility at the polls. That "image" was lost in Oregon. It was lost in part because the computerized version of the "old politics" didn't catch hold with Oregon's fiercely independent (their Yankee heritage), issue-oriented voters, who are not given to emotional outbursts but are very fond of seeing the candidates stand up and debate.

Kennedy promises to "get the country moving" (this is a sound from the '60 campaign) but, on the critical subject of the problems in the cities, he stops far short of the liberal-left stance, stressing "jobs and employment" repeatedly but coming out against the negative income tax for a guaranteed annual income. Claiming to be a candidate opposed to the "status quo" and a critic of the war in Vietnam, Kennedy always assures audiences that he is opposed to "unilateral withdrawal" and plays to his audiences by calling on the South Vietnamese to "take over the major share of the conflict," allowing that this country can "assist them and help them."

It isn't a very brave thing to say about the war.

In short, it adds up to a very conventional tone, almost an echo of the "status quo," rather than a response to the new issues developing in this country in the latter part of the '60's. Camelot is a road show this season, and the cast is off-key.

From the outset of his campaign, Gene McCarthy hasn't hestitated to challenge both the myths and the techniques of institutionalized politics in this country, sensing that in 1968, for the first time in 16 years, it fits the mood of the country. The first "myth" (a myth has power only as long as people believe it) was that an incumbent President couldn't be challenged within his own party. Some months later, LBJ took himself out, after McCarthy's New Hampshire triumph and on the eve of his Wisconsin victory. That "myth" was demolished.

The second "myth" was that a Kennedy couldn't be beaten in the Democratic Party. It fell in Oregon.

McCarthy's real problem in Oregon was to convince at least a plurality of voters that he is the only candidate who represents a substantive change on the issues and that Kennedy in insisting that his position is the same as McCarthy's and concentrating his fire on Vice President Humphrey, is just fleeing a confrontation with his only primary opponent. In this, McCarthy apparently succeeded.

Again, McCarthy's approach is to fit present policies into an institutional context and show that he, alone of all the candidates, is the one who is willing to challenge this, from the "containment" concepts of the John Foster Dulles era to what McCarthy terms the "assumptions of the early '60's in which containment assumed a new form in the doctrine of counter-insurgency. . . ." He notes that, during the early '60's,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when Kennedy played a key role in setting the nation's foreign policy, this country "still set for itself a moral mission in which we took upon ourselves the duty to judge the political systems of other nations and to alter those systems if we found them wanting."

In every major speech, McCarthy carefully linked both Kennedy and Humphrey to this policy, challenged them to disavow it and the men who personify it – Secretary of State Dean Rusk and former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Then he warned that, to change this policy, it will be necessary to select a President "fully independent of the mistakes of the past."

Everywhere – from the Cow Palace in San Francisco to the University of Oregon in Eugene to Portland's Colosseum – this reasoning brought bursts of applause from huge, enthusiastic audiences.

He coupled his careful differentiation of his stand on foreign policy with a repeated charge that his two opponents also represent the status quo in political organization, while promising, if elected, to "reorganize the structure of the Democratic Party" to allow a greater voice to people at the grass roots. Since his campaign is really a response to an early grass-roots revolt against Johnsonian policies, at home and abroad, it follows logically that, once in the White House, McCarthy would follow through on this.

Aside from issues and the techniques of campaigning, a new debate is raging over the personalities of the two candidates. It centers around which one "really cares" about the plight of the ghetto poor.

It is said that Bobby Kennedy, who has been described as "pure Celt," cares because he is deeply moved by the plight of the poor. It shows. He is moved to the verge of tears by a poor child. His caring is an emotional experience. It is the most appealing argument for his candidacy. But the same man, who is moved to tears by the plight of a ghetto child, is willing to turn the ghetto poor, and any others around, into screaming, clawing animals who wrench his shoes from his feet, and who are stripped of all human dignity by carefully advanced, well-financed excursions into the ghetto to incite votes.

It may not be arrogant but it's callous.

This, Gene McCarthy won't do. He's emotionally incapable of deliberately throwing himself into such a melee. On the other hand, he has pointed out that Kennedy gets most of his votes from the poorly educated. Even in jest, this carries a note of intellectual snobbery that isn't attractive. (In Oregon, where the percentage of poorly educated voters is small, the Kennedy camp chose to make an issue of that McCarthy quip. It was probably a mistake to do so, since voters respond to snobbery like any other emotion.)

McCarthy is criticized for failing, at each stop, to reassure voters on local issues – be it preservation of the sea shores or water importation. Kennedy never fails to do this. It is part of his image of caring enough about the voters to reassure them on matters of concern to them, even though it may mean by-passing significant national issues.

But McCarthy never fails to point out that he was the one who cared enough, in the dark days of last fall, to risk humiliation by becoming a candidate against LBJ. That, too, is reassuring.

In Oregon and California, unlike Nebraska and Indiana, McCarthy can match the Kennedy camp in terms of local organization, including thousands of issue-oriented adults backed up by droves of student canvassers. By the time McCarthy arrived in Oregon the week before the primary to put the final momentum into his campaign in that state, his local supporters had already been door-to-door. His timing was perfect. He peaked on election day.

Will California be a repeat?

Like Oregon, it has huge concentrations of suburban and semi-suburban voters. It also has a huge "black and brown" ghetto vote that could boost Kennedy over the top. But McCarthy, the day Oregon was voting, opened his real challenge for the "ghetto vote" by charging that Kennedy's outlook really amounted to a new kind of "paternalism," rather than a departure from the colonialism of the past.

Meanwhile, the Kennedy camp is bothered by published charges that, as attorney general, Kennedy approved tapping the phone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. It has not drawn a flat denial from Kennedy's aides. In California, it could become an explosive issue, as could reports that Kennedy's camp is paying registrars 30 cents per head to register ghetto dwellers, a possible violation of the law.

It is estimated that five to 10 percent of California's Democrats who privately favor Gene McCarthy planned to vote for Bobby Kennedy because he was a "winner." Or, to put it in Kennedy's terms, a "viable candidate." That was before Oregon. Now he faces the challenge of recovering his momentum. If he doesn't, will this five to 10 percent swing over en masse to McCarthy, in the process turning a sharp Kennedy advantage into a nip-and-tuck race?

The winner in California not only picks up 174 convention votes but goes to Chicago as the major challenger to Vice President Hubert Humphrey, already well on his way to winning the nomination. Certainly, the momentum should be with Gene McCarthy in the closing days. He goes to California as the issue-oriented candidate who disdains the techniques of the "old politics" and has proved that not one, but two, political giants can be toppled in one season. It is an enviable record. PAUL R. WIECK



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Vacation in Mexico?

The government of Mexico makes a practice of holding, for ransom by their parents, American students caught with marijuana. They are detained without bail or hearing for as much as a year, then, usually, released on bond ranging from $200 to $1,500. They are then free to skip the country, forfeiting bond. Mexican law permits prison sentences of up to 10 years and a 10,000 peso fine, but generally Mexican justice is satisfied with the harassment and the small revenue derived when parents buy back their children. Between 10 and 40 Americans, some of them college students, are in prisons on any given day awaiting disposition of marijuana charges. (Altogether, 150 to 300 Americans are now in Mexican jails on sundry charges.) An arrest effectively means up to a year in prison, even for the innocent.

On November 10, 1967 two Sheridan, Wyoming, brothers – both National Merit Scholars, one a student at Princeton, the other at the University of Wyoming – were busted in the state of Sonora. They had taken the semester off to travel in California and Mexico and were returning by car to the United States when they were struck head-on by another auto, whose driver was intoxicated. Dean Haney, who had attended the University of Wyoming, suffered a fractured spine. His brother Joseph's injuries were less serious. The Mexican police found in their car 96 pounds of marijuana. (That is the boys' figure. The US State Department says about 158 pounds were seized.) Joseph Haney has been held since last November in the Sonora State Prison at Hermosillo. Dean has been kept under guard in a hospital.

The Houston, Texas, ACLU first attempted to secure a Mexican lawyer for the students, since US attorneys were not allowed to represent them. For a time, the ACLU was unable even to secure a list of available lawyers from the Mexican consul. Finally a lawyer was retained (the president of a Hermosillo law school). He saw the boys, was paid a fee, promised to spring them within three weeks, and was never heard from again. A second attorney agreed to take the case, made similar promises, but demanded a $2,000 fee which the family has been unable to raise.

Joseph and Dean Haney have had no hearing. In Mexico the case of an arrested person is consigned to a judge who solicits documentation from defense and prosecution attorneys, studies the evidence at his leisure and arrives at a decision *within a year*. In marijuana cases, according to an aide to Sen. Ralph Yarborough, the suspect is either "found guilty and deported or found innocent and kicked out of the country." The Haney brothers may be in Mexico until Christmas.

Their father, Jefferson Haney, was president of Sheridan College, a junior college in Sheridan, Wyoming. He has spent much of the past six months trying to free his sons. Because of the bad publicity in Wyoming, Dr. Haney has been forced to give up his college presidency and take a job as a salesman for a firm in Dallas.

The Haney case, unpublicized outside Wyoming, has attracted, in addition to the attention and aid of the Houston ACLU and Senator Yarborough's office, the watchful concern of the State Department, which is unwilling to apply pressure on Mexico for fear that that would merely aggravate matters. "If anything, we're encouraging the Mexicans to crack down on marijuana," a State Department official assigned to the Mexico desk said last week. "We try to make life difficult for marijuana smugglers of whatever nationality. If one were caught in the US with 158 pounds of marijuana, the penalties would be just as severe if not worse. The sanitation conditions in US jails might be a little better; there may be a better bonding situation, but I think the end result would be a rather stiff prison sentence."

Since the US government, through former Narcotics Commissioner Harry Anslinger, was instrumental in passing the single convention on narcotic drugs – an international treaty banning the sale, possession, use, etc., of marijuana throughout much of the world – the State Department is hardly in a position to ask for leniency. Even if Washington were disposed to intervene, which it isn't, officials are pessimistic about the prospects. Wesley Boles of State's Mexico desk says no pressure is possible: "We can only make sure they [arrested persons] are treated in accordance with Mexican law and that they're not discriminated against because they're Americans. As long as the process goes along in a reasonably civilized manner, and they're not beaten every day, that's about all we can expect. In some instances you are able, talking to the right official at the right time, to get things handled well. Other times you find that the fact that you're interested makes it worse."

The Mexican government is reportedly concerned about the presence of undesirables in the country and would like to put them away in time for the summer Olympics in Mexico City. Many Americans will be traveling to Mexico this year and should be aware, as one State Department official puts it, that "this is their constitutional system and this is the way they operate. Americans who go there must place themselves under this type of law." Those who plan Olympic vacations in Mexico should be prepared, if they get into trouble, to stay a while.

David Sanford



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Readying the Reserves For Civil Disturbance

The 400,000-man Army Reserve is being prepared, for the first time in its 60-year history, to put down civil disturbances, usually the exclusive preserve of the state National Guards. Only the men in Reserve medical units have been exempted from the 36-hour cram course on riot control which must be completed by June 17.

Although the "book" for the Reserve riot control training is new – a training manual published in March of this year – most of the techniques are old. Emphasis is placed on shoulder-to-shoulder formations designed to move or split crowds. "Riot control agents" – the military euphemism for tear gas – are the principal weapon. Although bayonets are to be mounted on rifles at all times, weapons are to remain unloaded and unfired unless a suitable order comes down the chain of command. (In Detroit, despite orders not to load and fire their weapons, National Guardsmen engaged in blistering fire fights – often with one another. Federal troops on the scene were more restrained.)

I observed a weekend of training at one Manhattan Reserve center. The unit, a small, specialized "white collar" outfit, had no gas masks, no bayonets and the wrong rifles for riot control duty. (They were equipped with World War II vintage carbines, a short, lightweight weapon. Riot control forces are supposed to have the heavier M-1 rifle or the newer, heavy M-14 rifle.) A list of other equipment was read to the men (grenade launchers, riot control agent dispensers, riot control agent grenades, machine guns, armored personnel carriers), but the unit was not equipped with these items and most of the men had had no experience with any of them.

The officer briefing to the racially-integrated class said that he was not going to deal with the causes of riots, because it was not the Army's "mission." When reading from the "book," he stressed the need for caution. "If you fire your weapon without an order from a superior officer, then you will be liable," he said. At another point, he warned the men that if they got trigger-happy and injured someone, they faced civilian, as well as military charges plus civil damage suits. A few moments later, in discussing the rounding up of suspected "agitators," he said: "This is the best time. Get them late at night – three a.m. or something. And then you can give the sons of bitches a good going over before you bring them in. Remember, there'll be martial law in effect, so you don't have to bother about his rights too much."

The officer was immediately challenged by an enlisted man who questioned whether beating a suspect wouldn't make a martyr or hero of him. The officer went back to the manual.

Following four hours of classroom work, the unit moved down to a huge basement garage, where the men practiced riot control formations. Half a dozen men were assigned as rioters, the remaining dozen were the riot control force. Three times the troops advanced in a shoulder-to-shoulder formation. Three times their line was disrupted. The first time, the "rioters" squatted in front of the troops and sang "We Shall Overcome." The troops were unsure about whether to step over the "rioters" – leaving the "rioters" behind their backs – or whether to put down their weapons and carry off the demonstrators. The second time, the rioters linked together nine web belts, flanked the line of troops, and encircled the dozen men with the rope-like linked belts, pulling several of them to the floor. On the third try, the rioters retreated to the end of the garage, where one of them mounted a jeep and let go with a blast on the horn. The noise was sufficient to cause the line to stop and several Reservists backed away, fearful the jeep would be driven out at them.

"Of course, in an actual riot situation," the officer

*Waiting*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conducting the class told the men, "the troops will be greatly outnumbered." When that drew a laugh, he added, "But you'd have bayonets." "A lot of good that would do against a truck," one of the enlisted men grumbled.

It was plain to the men that if half a dozen of their buddies could disrupt their formation, then a determined mob of rioters could stop them cold. Their only recourse would be tear gas or bullets. Either alternative would clear the streets, but would breed new and greater resentment.

"The best bet is just to establish your presence on the perimeter of the trouble area and contain it. It'll burn itself out," one of the enlisted men said. The officer disagreed, "You can't let them just go on destroying property." A sergeant added, "Someone's got to pay for that damage, and in the long run it's going to be you and me."

A unique part of the training program the Army has set up for the Reserves is the one-day FTX (Field Training Exercise) which require practicing riot control on an actual city street. While the tiny unit I observed could get away with the FTX virtually unnoticed, the battalion- and brigade-sized Reserve units will attract a great deal of attention. And while their maneuvers may reassure some, there will be others who will resent the time and expense going into training these men on public streets while efforts to get at the roots of disturbances are being curtailed in virtually every city.

GEORGE MERLIS

MR. MERLIS, *a graduate of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, was Day City Editor of the* World Journal Tribune *and is now with ABC News.*

# Revolution and Reaction

## *The Student Revolt in West Germany*

*by Robert Greenstein*

*"I know men and girls in West Berlin to whom 'the revolution' has become all their waking and dreaming life. I have friends here who a year ago were good-natured, rather incoherent young writers. Today they talk only lucid, incandescent doctrine. Their eyes are different."*

– NEAL ASCHERSON, *Observer*

*"These long-haired rowdies would never have been allowed in Hitler's day."* – Berlin cab-driver

The Emergency Laws have been passed in Germany, and the West German government can now assume, in times of emergency, powers far more sweeping than those available to any previous German government since the days of the Third Reich. The legislation enacted by a special Bundestag session last week, authorizes the government to use the armed forces for police functions, conscript all males 18 and over into civil defense units and all women between the ages of 18 and 55 into medical units, open mail, tap phones, restrict travel, suspend constitutional rights, and use the army against "organized and militarily armed groups of insurgents."

In the aftermath of April's violent student outbreaks which spread panic through much of German society and prompted the summoning of the special Bundestag session, it isn't hard to guess where any such insurgency is expected to come from. In the days following the near-fatal shooting of leftist student leader Rudi Dutschke, April 11, students in Cologne, Frankfurt, Hamburg and a dozen other cities attacked offices of the Springer press, burned thousands of copies of Springer papers, and fought long and brutal battles with police. In Berlin, the 10 square block area surrounding the Springer building became a virtual war zone, as policemen with submachine guns stood guard around walls of hastily erected barbed wire. In Munich, two men died in the fighting.

The April outbreaks were only the latest in a continuing series of clashes between students and authorities. Ever since a student demonstrator was killed a year ago by a police bullet fired at point-blank range, there has been tension. This February, students poured into the streets in a score of cities. Students



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rioting against increased transport fares wrecked buses in Bremen and forced the municipal Senate to cancel the fare hike. Thousands stormed the American consulate in Frankfurt. In Freiburg, students attempted to invade a jail. In city after city, high school students joined the action. In some instances, they even led it. In Berlin, a film demonstrating how to make Molotov cocktails, ended with a long-held shot of the Springer Building.

Springer publications (according to *Le Monde*) account for 78 percent of Berlin's magazine and daily newspaper circulation, 43 percent of all West German circulation, and 90 percent of Sunday press circulation. For years Springer has vilified leftist students as rowdies and traitors and has stirred deep antagonisms against them. Week after week, Springer headlines scream that terrorism is stalking the land, and Springer editorials demand that leftist students and their organizations be "purged."

At the core of this explosive situation is the German Socialist Students League (SDS), the militant organization which Dutschke leads. SDS was the Social Democrats' student affiliate until it was expelled from the party in 1961. Today it sets the tone for the entire student movement (or "extra-parliamentary opposition," as the movement now terms itself). Basic to the SDS success has been the appeal of its political doctrines, largely derived from the writings of Herbert Marcuse. A Berlin-born philosopher who now lives in California, Marcuse contends that advanced capitalist society uses subtle forms of manipulation to mask its true repressive nature and to create the illusion of tolerance and freedom. Such manipulation disarms and "integrates" all potential forces of change. Society thus becomes "one-dimensional," for apparent conflicts operate within such narrow bounds that they represent no conflict at all, and serve only to disguise the repressive machinery operating behind the outward forms of democracy. Dissent which threatens nothing, which stays within prescribed limits is allowed as a subterfuge and thereby serves only to legitimize the status quo.

Seen through the eyes of students, West Germany has become "one-dimensional." Students view both the president and chancellor of the republic as former Nazis; they see no opposition party on the left; they read a press effectively dominated by a virulent rightist, who has been described by a competitor as the most powerful man in Germany since Hitler; they observe brutal police suppression of even minor demonstrations; they have witnessed the deaths of two fellow students and a photographer. They look at workers who detest the student agitation and who desert the Social Democrats for the neo-Nazi NPD (as in last month's state elections in Baden-Wurttemberg, where the NPD captured 9.8 percent of the vote), and they watch the government attempt to deflate the NPD appeal by enacting the new Emergency Laws. The students ask if the Germany of their fathers – Hitler's Germany – has really disappeared, and whether the system they now oppose is all that different from Nazism. These questions prove to be of real importance to them.

The Marcusian outlook also influences the type of protest. Actions within acceptable limits are seen as legitimations of the very authority the students oppose. The only recourse, as SDS president Karl Dietrich Wolff recently stated, then becomes "to mount agitation, disputes, and provocations in order to rip away the veil, unmask, and demystify the true workings of the capitalist system." If SDS can force police to reveal that their true power stems not from democracy but from guns, billy clubs, and water cannons, this is felt to be a small but important victory.

For SDS, no real reform is possible within modern capitalist society. According to Marcuse, however, revolutionary upheaval will not be possible for decades, for the "working class" is too well integrated. Here SDS diverges from Marcuse and turns to a conglomeration of slogans and theories from Marxists as diverse as Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Ché Guevara, and Rosa Luxembourg (in his keynote address to the International Vietnam Congress held in Berlin in February, Dutschke's references ranged from Lenin to Andrew Kopkind). Guevara's declaration ("The duty of the revolutionary is to make the revolution") is popular, as is his call for "two, three Vietnams." Indeed, the reason Ho Chi Minh has become a hero to SDS is his demonstration that a small, underdeveloped country can successfully stand up to the most powerful nation in the world. If it can be done in Vietnam, they say, it can be done in Germany. When Springer headlines ask, "Are the Viet Cong Among Us?" SDS would like to be able to answer "Yes."

Dutschke and his colleagues understand that they are far from revolution. Their hope is that over the next decade the mass of the "working class" will join the "extra-parliamentary opposition," enabling what detractors contemptuously term "a small radical minority" to become a majority (a vision Marcuse would scoff at). Then the revolution might triumph with a minimum of violence.

One factor buoying Dutschke's hopes is a poll pub-

---

ROBERT GREENSTEIN *has been on a year's traveling fellowship, during which he visited Germany and later met with a German student delegation in London. He is now at the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, D. C.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished several weeks ago in *Der Spiegel* showing that 75 percent of all German students supported the February demonstrations, as did *67 percent of all Germans between the ages of 15 and 25*. Fifty-eight percent of the students said they would go into the streets themselves. Twenty-seven percent expressed strong sympathy for the revolutionary aims of SDS. SDS is already encouraging students to go into factories and to organize workers around specific grievances. It plans to place particular emphasis on schools which train young German workers as apprentices.

The *Spiegel* poll notwithstanding, a glance at the current German scene suggests that SDS is in for an extremely hard time. True, after the April riots, several influential Germans (including the Lutheran bishop of Berlin) announced support for such student demands as the smashing of the Springer trust. But the overwhelming majority of German workers, most of whom would resent any allegation that they were part of the "working class," have only become more anti-student, more insistent on law and order. Although SDS denounced the Soviet Union and East Germany as bureaucratic societies even more unpalatable than its own, many Germans regard the students as tools of East German boss Ulbricht. During the April riots, municipal authorities feared that thousands of workers might take to the streets to "give the students a lesson." The matter was actually discussed in Berlin's large Siemens plant. Social Democratic mayors have had to worry less about restraining the police and so prevent defections to the left, than about how to appear strong enough to keep workers from moving to the right.

A further problem for SDS lies in the alienation of liberals (such as Günter Grass), who dislike the authoritarian style which the student movement can occasionally display. The end of the Vietnam Congress in February is a case in point. With a 300-foot-wide Viet Cong flag serving as backdrop, two young Americans set fire to their draft cards, as SNCC representative Dale Smith jumped on a table and raised a clenched right hand. Virtually everyone of the 3,000 German students rose from his seat. Three thousand right fists shot up and down together, as students chanted in unison with Smith, "Burn, baby, burn. Burn, baby, burn."

The anti-Vietnam demonstration held the following day is another example: 20,000 marchers carried scores of flowing red banners, hundreds of Viet Cong flags, and everywhere huge posters of Ché Guevara, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, and especially of Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht (martyrs of the abortive 1919 Spartacist uprising in Berlin – murdered with the complicity of the ruling Social Democrats). The demonstrators moved down the streets in rows, with arms linked, continually chanting, "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh." Unlike most American peace marches, this seemed not a march of individuals, small groups here and there, and numerous stragglers, but rather a well-disciplined mass movement.

Though originally thrust into prominence by the press, Rudi Dutschke is the one charismatic leader to appear in Germany since Adolf Hitler. Many students who are not SDS members own pictures of Dutschke. His speeches, though often filled with sophisticated political analysis, evoke a reverent response. In the weeks before the shooting, fellow SDS leaders had attacked Dutschke for fostering a "cult of personality." Dutschke, in fact, is writing his doctoral thesis on anti-authoritarian Marxist movements. SDS's principal goal for a post-revolutionary society is a combination of socialism with free, nonauthoritarian institutions (such as a decentralized network of workers' and students' councils). Yet on demonstrations and in large conference halls, the elements of authoritarian style still persist.

If Dutschke recovers from his serious injuries to lead SDS once more, he may find it difficult to keep himself and his colleagues out of prison. As the Springer press sharpens its attacks and the NPD makes new gains in next year's general elections, any incident could provoke students or police to escalate their conflict. If the students become increasingly violent, the benefits could go to Springer and the NPD, and the entire political spectrum could move sharply to the right. On the other hand, even if students eschew violent action, this may happen, anyway. The Emergency Laws, passed over the opposition of liberals, the small Free Democratic Party, and a number of labor unions, already mark a step in this direction.

If West Germany thus gives signs of resembling Weimar, it is perhaps of ironic interest that both sides seek to represent themselves in the role of the persecuted Jews of that time. Opponents of the government charge that a Germany which has killed its Jews, has seized on the students as its new scapegoat. To Axel Springer, the students are not the Jews, but the new SS. It is he, with his besieged buildings and smashed windows, who is the victimized Jew. Police who attack demonstrators with clubs are greeted with cries of "Nazi." After a demonstration, the Springer press denounces the terror brought to German streets by the new young Brownshirts.

After two decades marked by the absence of significant political conflict, something is changing. One British observer has suggested that West Germany may be returning to "something more traditional: politics of total belief." If he is correct, there's trouble ahead.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Why I Am For Humphrey

*by Irving Kristol*

I wish to argue the case for Hubert Humphrey – or, more precisely, *my* case for HHH. I emphasize the personal pronoun because I am no kind of spokesman or publicist for the Vice President. It is fair to assume that he will not approve of everything I say; and it is possible he may not approve of anything I say. It is certainly not my intention to make any kind of calculated "pitch" – to magnify Mr. Humphrey's virtues, deny his weaknesses, or slur over topics (*e.g.* Vietnam) where many readers of *The New Republic* and the Vice President have been in evident disagreement. The purpose of this article is simply to explain why I, personally, see the election of Mr. Humphrey as being not only desirable, but in some sense necessary.

And I will begin by risking the flat statement that, to my mind, the election has already narrowed itself down to the choice between Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon as President of the United States. These are the only two candidates who make a nationwide, "majority appeal" to the American electorate. In these pages, I need not explain why the prospect of electing Mr. Nixon depresses me. Suffice it to say that he appeals to *the wrong majority* to govern the United States in these times – a majority whose dominant temper will be sullenly resentful of the social changes we have been experiencing and impulsively reactionary toward the crises we shall inevitably be enduring.

Mr. Humphrey, in contrast, seems to me to be capable of moulding and leading the right kind of majority – one that does not wish to repudiate American traditions (and, yes, even the "American way of life") but is nevertheless genuinely willing to adapt these traditions to the exigencies of present and future circumstances. It might be said, in rejoinder, that such adaptation might be insufficiently swift and radical. To which I can only reply (a) that this is indeed a possible danger, and (b) that the only real alternative is an Administration that will not be particularly interested in adapting at all.

I obviously must explain why I insist upon this Humphrey-Nixon alternative, which is bound to be challenged by many – though not, I observe in the press, by Mr. Nixon. It has nothing to do with my own personal feelings toward Eugene McCarthy or Robert Kennedy, or with their own personal qualities. Rather, it has to do with the political identities and roles they have created (or accepted) for themselves. To put it briefly and bluntly: both are minority candidates, making essentially minority appeals – and while this is no bar to national office in the Congress, it is almost invariably a bar to the Presidency. Senator Kennedy has a safe Senate seat from New York, but I doubt very much that – after a summer of urban turmoil, and a fall of campus rebellions, both of which loom before us – he will be able to carry even New York State against Nixon. As for Senator McCarthy, I believe he has already achieved his purpose – altering the Administration's policy on Vietnam – and has, with that, exhausted his political potential.

The other day, a good friend of mine – a professor at Columbia – told me that, though still committed to McCarthy, he would switch to Kennedy if it turned out that McCarthy had no chance. I asked him: why not Humphrey? "I've nothing against Humphrey," he replied, "but I think only Kennedy can 'communicate' with the militant Negroes and the militant students – only he can split the New Left and the black nationalists – and this is the most urgent task before us."

I believe my friend is unquestionably right about Senator Kennedy's special appeal to these groups – and to our Indian-American and Mexican-American populations, too (though I might point out that Mr. Humphrey is, at the least, *persona grata* with most of them). Nor do I deny the importance of "communicating" with the "alienated" sectors of our society. But what my friend seems to have overlooked is the fact that the overwhelming majority of the American electorate is non-black, non-young, and non-poor. *These* are the people who are going to elect our next President – and our next Congress. These are the people whose consent, active or passive, will have to be mobilized for any reform or reconstruction of American society to be effected. And these are the people that any presidential candidate or any President will, above all, have to "communicate with." So far as I can see, only Humphrey and Nixon are able to transmit messages that are anywhere near the proper wave lengths. Even if Robert Kennedy were somehow to be elected, he would find himself immediately stalemated – perhaps even checkmated – by Congress and public opinion.

Besides, I am not so sure it is a good idea to place all that amount of emphasis on the more extreme opin-

---

IRVING KRISTOL, *former editor of* Encounter, *is Executive Vice President of Basic Books.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ions emanating from the "alienated" segments of our society. It can easily create – has already created – more problems than can be solved. Both Negro militants and student militants unquestionably voice real grievances in their constituencies. On the other hand, the evidence is quite convincing that they do not really represent, in their ideological posture, the majority of even these constituencies. We are too quick to assume that whatever is "militant" is *ipso facto* a more authentic product of "grass-roots" sentiments. Acting upon this assumption, many of our political leaders blithely pass over the heads of the more moderate, more "established" leadership and, in effect, grant to the militants a status and legitimacy they might not otherwise have obtained. This has already happened in many of our central cities; it is happening right now in our universities. The basic difficulty with this strategy is that it is self-defeating. Even if the demands of these militants were less inchoate than they are, the plain fact is that they could not be satisfied with the immediacy and the amplitude that are being insisted upon. We simply don't know *how* to render such satisfaction. And to the extent that we nevertheless pretend to do so, we (a) neglect to do all sorts of things that we can do and of which moderate opinion (both minority and majority) would approve, (b) render more acute all of the frustrations these minorities are experiencing, and (c) set up the conditions for a massive "backlash" on the part of the majority, which receives the impression from all this agitation, confrontation, and rhetorical exuberance that we are "going too far, too fast" – when, in truth, there has been far more talk than action.

Now, let us turn to Vietnam. And let us begin by dismissing the accusation against the Vice President that he has, during these past four years, "prostituted himself" by supporting the Administration's policy in Vietnam. This accusation is both stupid and contemptible. It is stupid because, in the nature of things, none of us has any way of knowing what private doubts and reservations Mr. Humphrey might have had about various aspects of this policy. He would have been less than human had he not had any such doubts; he would have been less than worthy of his high office had he insinuated them into the public ear.

The accusation is contemptible because it so blandly and self-righteously assumes that Mr. Humphrey could not possibly have been telling the truth when he said – as he has, repeatedly – that he believed our involvement in Vietnam to be both necessary and just. A clear majority of American liberal voters believe exactly this, as every opinion poll reveals. It requires a special kind of fanaticism to take it for granted that, because one despises the Vietnam war, only despicable people could have supported it. (Would that life and politics were all that simple!) And it takes a special kind of willful obtuseness to fail to observe that many men whose liberal credentials are impeccable have found the Administration's case persuasive.

As I write, it appears that Vietnam will not be a significant issue in the campaign. I realize that this infuriates a great many people who dearly want to see our Vietnam policy openly and utterly repudiated by this election. I can appreciate their emotions, even if I don't share their views. But this is just not going to happen – no matter who wins the nomination, no matter who wins the election. The American people are certainly disillusioned about the war in Vietnam – but their disillusionment at this moment centers at least as much around the fact that we have failed to win this war as around the original commitment to intervene. In any case, no aspiring national leader in his right mind is going to appear before the American people to tell them that their sons have been killed and maimed – are still being killed and maimed – in an unjust and "genocidal" war. Neither Senator Kennedy nor Senator McCarthy is saying anything of the sort. Indeed, they are astutely saying very little at all about Vietnam, because they realize that, if our basic foreign policy is to be substantially changed, it will have to be done gradually, incrementally, cautiously. To attempt an abrupt reversal would be to risk a dangerous reaction whose political consequences could be disastrous for the future of American liberalism.

As a matter of fact, should such a revision of our foreign policy be in order, it is Mr. Humphrey who is in the best position to accomplish this, precisely because he will represent the principle of continuity even amidst change. And here, I think, we return to the heart of the matter. The United States is going through a period of tumultuous and bewildering flux, affecting all of our institutions and customs. Those who are promoting such change are obviously just as confused about what it all means as those who resent and resist it. The legislative programs of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society have been largely achieved – but without providing the satisfaction and stability that were expected. In the United States, as all over the world, the legitimacy of existing institutions is being challenged, explicitly or implicitly. We are living in an exciting and dangerous epoch, which has dawned upon us with astonishing suddenness, and which finds us unprepared and disoriented.

There are ugly possibilities here, as well as hopeful ones. I have great faith in the majority of the American people – but that faith is neither blind nor unqualified. *This majority, too, is capable of being "alienated,"* should it feel that it has lost control over the national destiny. And an alienated majority is capable of in-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

finite varieties of mischief, only too easily imaginable. This majority needs leadership that will have the willingness and capacity to take new bearings – without, however, repudiating our older ones, which served us well in their time. This majority needs to be persuaded, not merely exhorted, baited, and coerced. In short, I think this majority *needs* someone like Hubert Humphrey, whose pragmatic liberalism represents the only vital and enduring tradition of American government since 1932, and who will best be able to enlarge this tradition to encompass the strange new world toward which we are stumbling.

## *What Happened to Nothing but the Truth?*

# More about Columbia

*by Dotson Rader*

There have been so many questions about my May 11 report on the "disturbances" at Columbia University, some amplification is called for.

I entered Mathematics Hall at the university a few hours after the building had been seized by 30 students, led by Tom Hayden, at one o'clock Friday morning, April 26. I remained inside the building as part of the commune of 200 demonstrators until the police bust on the following Tuesday morning. Except for the pro-SDS Liberation News Service, no press was allowed inside. While this prohibition was violated at one or another of the liberated buildings, it was strictly enforced at Mathematics.

There were several reasons for barring the press, some legitimate, some not. The radicals believed, perhaps with justification, that plainclothes police would try to infiltrate the commune in the guise of reporters. Since Math was the most radical of the five communes, everyone inside risked retaliation from the administration and the police, especially students with previous disciplinary records. For this reason it was felt that the police and persons from the Dean's office should be prevented from taking names and pictures of the students. All of us faced arrest. Some of us, the pre-professional students, particularly those in pre-law, had placed our careers in jeopardy. The protesting foreign students could be deported.

Secondly, some members of SDS have a fanatical distrust of the press. Their suspicion is based in part on the assumption that in America the press functions as a propaganda organ for the Capitalist Establishment. They charge that it is corporate imperialist in its bias, suppressive and distorted in its effect. During the "liberation" *The New York Times'* reporting of the events at Columbia was continually held up to us as evidence of the prejudice of the liberal press. In the case of the *Times*, the inaccuracies seemed more sinister because of the presence of its publisher on the University Board of Trustees.

But the attempt to prevent the circulation of any independent (*i.e.* non-SDS) account of the life in the commune went beyond simply barring the press. The ban applied to the students in the building. Whenever I attempted to write, self-appointed censors grabbed the offending material from my hands, usually with the rhetorical question. "Who do *you* work for, motherfucker?" At first I found these interruptions only irritating. Later, when the intimidation went beyond verbal admonishments, I saw them as part of a kind of Stalinist approach to the truth that many of the radicals embraced. Nothing was to be written that did not conform with the immediate demands of the "revolution." Every word had to follow the SDS line.

To write the article on the rebellion which appeared in these pages, I liberated a typewriter from one of the offices, climbed into the attic of Math, sat on a gas drum and wrote. This was necessary to escape constant surveillance in the commune.

After the article appeared I was told by members of the Steering Committee that I had to clear anything written about the commune with them. This apparently had been the policy from the beginning. If I were not willing to put myself under revolutionary discipline I could look forward to having my "revision-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ist (*i.e.* counterrevolutionary) head busted."

SDS is concerned about the kind of reports that come out, because for them the commune is a prototype of the revolutionary social structure they hope to establish. The word commune is used because of its historical antecedent – the Paris Commune of 1848 – and because it takes its basic social organization and much of its style from the type of communal living developed by the hippies. More importantly, the commune is significant as propaganda. It seems to offer young people the promise of functioning within an order based upon Tom Hayden's "participatory democracy." And that, when compared to the straight world most young people know – draft boards, academic bosses, the rat race of business – is a happy prospect.

As it worked inside Mathematics, where Hayden was in charge, participatory democracy was much like a town meeting where a highly organized minority, in firm agreement on objectives, is able to cow the unorganized, apolitical majority into acting against its better judgment. Most of the students in Math were politically undereducated; they had never experienced anything comparable; they were confused and easily led. In Math one had a tendency to vote for radical motions, because the only information one received came from the Steering Committee. It was often untrue. If the quality of political life depends on the information the voters receive about the issues, then ours was a poor experiment in democracy.

In addition to receiving precensored information, we were also kept on a radical course by the fear of being labeled fascist. The mildest statement suggesting a moderation in the demands of the rebellion, especially on the question of amnesty for the six SDS leaders where a hard line was insisted upon, brought charges of revisionist tendencies.

Because we were denied access to independent information, and because we were psychologically vulnerable to being led by the most radical among us (we were isolated from the outside world, expecting a police attack at any time, warned continually to guard against being corrupted by the faculty) our participatory democracy was largely nominal.

An example of the tactic used by the radicals to insure unanimity in the commune came on Sunday afternoon. Earlier in the day the Steering Committee announced that it had broken off negotiations with the Ad Hoc Faculty Group. The usual reasons were given: the faculty was selling out, trying to use the students, stalling to give the administration more time. Nevertheless, over the Steering Committee's strong objections, the commune passed a resolution instructing it immediately to reopen talks with the faculty. This was seen as a weakening of resolve in the commune, and the Steering Committee acted to counter it. It made a dramatic statement that the police bust would come before nightfall. That was completely false, but there were no more calls for moderation.

The radicals reacted in much the same fashion to public suggestions that there had been planning of the Columbia rebellion prior to the event. Those of us who attended the SDS regional meeting at Princeton University (*NR*, Dec. 9, 1967) knew that the tactics to be used to polarize universities were discussed in detail in the workshop on Campus Organization: Techniques and Strategy. At that meeting the subject of confrontation politics, as applied to a university situation, was analyzed. Various tactics, from the seizure of buildings and the taking of hostages to the disruption of classes and student strikes, were debated. The point of confrontation is to place the administration in the position of having to use great force against its students, hopefully with some blood spilled, so as to polarize the liberal academic community over the use of force itself. That is precisely what happened at Columbia. We also knew, through conversations with members of the Steering Committee, of the SDS caucus at the NSA conference in College Park, Maryland. There the question of SDS's worsening position at Columbia – six of its leaders, including Mark Rudd, faced expulsion and its charter was in danger of being revoked – was discussed. At that meeting a decision, later confirmed in a meeting of the Columbia SDS chapter, was made to attempt a confrontation with the administration in April. There, too, the means were determined: the seizure of university buildings.

The original plan was to take Low Library on Tuesday, April 23. But when the students returned to campus, after scuffling with the police in Morningside Park in protest over the gym construction, they discovered that the university had anticipated them and closed Low Library. The students were in a defiant mood. One of their number, Freddy Wilson, a sophomore, had been arrested in the park. It was then that Rudd made a hurried change of plans and shouted: "They've taken one of ours. Let's take one of theirs! Let's take Hamilton Hall!" They did precisely that.

While there was no conspiracy behind the Columbia rebellion, not as the word is commonly used, there was agreement on the ends and tactics to be used and on the approximate time for the confrontation. SDS has tried to deny the fact of planning, because it conflicts with its official version of the rebellion: that it was a spontaneous outpouring of anger on the part

---

DOTSON RADER, *a 25-year-old observer of the new politics on campus, attended Columbia University for four and a half years as an undergraduate.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the majority of students – black and white – against racism, bureaucratic arrogance, and war research at Columbia. This is not the whole truth.

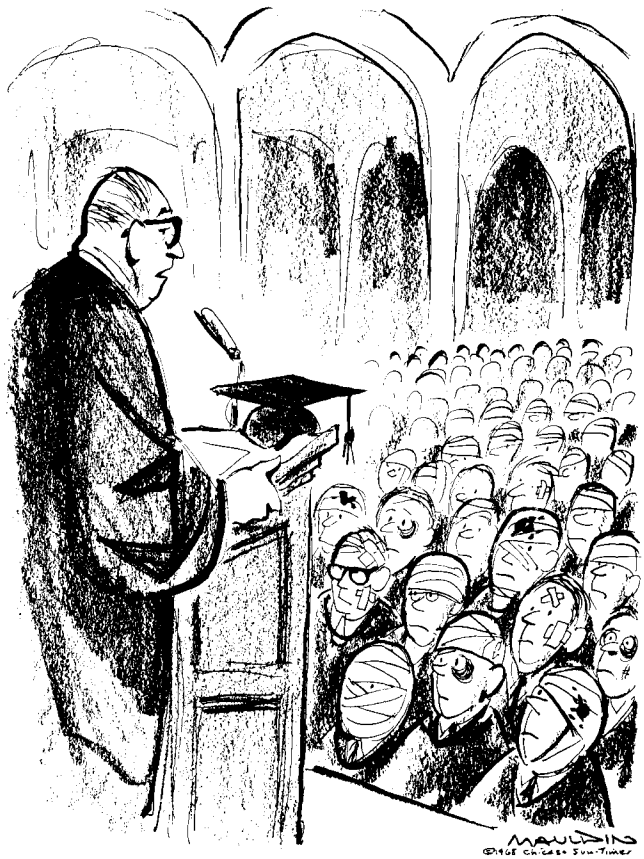
One month before the rebellion the Progressive Labor Party, in coordination with SDS, began in earnest to organize tenants in Columbia-owned buildings to the end that a tenants' strike be called in support of the students. As usual with Progressive Labor projects, the strike never quite came off, its only success being a short-lived seizure of one Columbia-owned tenement by the tenants, with student support, on May 18. In addition, SDS sought the support of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a Chicago-based organization with which Tom Hayden is intimately involved. The timing of the Columbia rebellion was coordinated with the antiwar protests. On Saturday, April 27, we were told that a large contingent of the peace demonstrators would march from Central Park up Broadway to Columbia and mass at the gates in support of the strike. Rudd notified the commune that they could expect "around 15,000 marchers." They never appeared. What did appear were several hundred blacks who paused at the gates on their way from Harlem to the Central Park rally downtown.

The effort to get the physical cooperation of off-campus organizations, from CORE and the Black Nationalists to the National Mobilization Committee, was made in order to apply the maximum pressure possible on the administration. It was also done to present the rebellion not as simply a student disturbance but as a full-scale revolt with wide nonuniversity, community support. With opposition to the Institute for Defense Analyses as one of the strike's six issues, the students hoped to rally antiwar liberals who would not otherwise support them. With the issue of the gym, the students tried to expose the whole matter of Columbia's incredibly bad relations with West Harlem, and thus get the backing of civil rights liberals and the black community. It is very difficult to oppose students who are protesting in support of such good causes, especially if you are a left-liberal faculty member who does not like the administration to begin with.

The disruptions will continue at Columbia. SDS will try to uncover new issues on which to build a new coalition, since the old one is getting rather tired of SDS's militancy. The administration will continue to act stupidly, arrogantly, belatedly, playing, as usual, into the hands of SDS. Hayden said, "The only thing we can count on absolutely in this situation is the incompetence of Kirk and Truman." He was right. Twenty-five students have received notices to appear before the administration to answer charges resulting from the rebellion. Four have already been suspended without a hearing. There will be more suspensions. Another 177 persons were arrested early on May 22, as police "swept through the university grounds clubbing, kicking and punching student protesters who flung back rocks, taunts and obscenities" (*New York Times*, May 23).

The students have responded with two more assaults on university buildings, occupying Hamilton Hall again for a time. They have promised more demonstrations and threatened to disrupt the university's commencement on June 4. The commencement, which is traditionally held outdoors on South Field, will take place instead inside a heavily guarded Cathedral of St. John the Divine, without an address by President Grayson Kirk. SDS will demonstrate outside the building, attempt to organize graduating seniors to disrupt the ceremony inside and, if all else fails, call in bomb threats to the police.

The number of students radicalized by the rebellion continues to grow. Their determination is strong, their patience seemingly unlimited. It will not be until the resignation of Grayson Kirk, probably before November, and the installation of a new president, that Columbia will see the beginning of the end of the rebellion. It will not be until the trustees begin the formal restructuring of the university that the future of Columbia will be clear.




*". . . And now you'll leave the cloistered halls of Columbia and step forth into the world's harsh challenges. . . ."*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Stanley Kauffmann on films

## Booms and Busts

Don't believe the ads for *Boom*. The stars are not Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton, they are Richard MacDonald and Douglas Slocombe. MacDonald is the art director as he has been for almost all the films made in Britain by Joseph Losey, who directed *Boom*. Slocombe, the cinematographer, also did *The Servant* for Losey. Together, with wide screen and Technicolor, MacDonald and Slocombe have turned this ridiculous Tennessee Williams script into a rococo romp. It takes place in a cliff-top villa overlooking the Sardinian sea. Thick white walls, with deep-set windows; giant gold wall sculptures; sudden slashes of red in costumes and hangings; crystal candelabra and low, square furniture, all these are photographed in hard bright sun and almost edible shadows, to create a kind of *Harper's Bazaar* metaphysics. This is the Hell of wealth with nothing to do but be tasteful.

*Boom*
(Universal)
*Hagbard and Signe*
(Steve Prentoulis Films)
*I'll Never Forget What's 'Is Name*
(Regional)
*The Swimmer*
(Columbia)

Williams' screenplay is a hollow pomposity derived from his much-revised stage play *The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Any More*, which originally was a short story. May we hope that this material has now reached the end of the line? "Boom" is the word that the hero keeps muttering as another second of life passes, to certify that he is still alive – which indicates the poetic level in concept and language. An immensely rich, equally vulgar American widow is dying (of tuberculosis, I assume), and like most Williams bitches, she is not just a maneater, she is Really Lonely. A wandering poet, who lives on rich ladies, house-crashes and, after refusing to sleep with the fading nympho, helps to ease her through the pearly gates. His name is Christopher, hers is Goforth, and there is a religious parable in it all if the viewer is sufficiently trivial.

As the ailing tyrant, Miss Taylor, in some striking Tiziani outfits, is busty and boring. As the poet, Burton is long-haired and boring. Their Movie-Star vaudeville team has become one of the great camps of our time. Williams has made a couple of queer changes in the play. Miss Taylor is younger than the actresses who played her role in the theatre, yet she has been made the widow of six men, rather than the original four. The Witch of Capri, a society cadaver, has had her sex changed, or at least her body transvested, so that the part could be played by Noel Coward, who seems determined to end his career by making a public fool of himself.

Losey has directed with scrupulous attention to drops of blood on absorbent cotton and assorted grotesquerie. Apparently he is ambitious to become another Buñuel. My view of this aim is doubtless blinkered since I am not enamored of the original Buñuel, still Losey seems to be going about it in a generally synthetic way. Well, at least he has the wit to cling to MacDonald and to get Slocombe when he can.

Subtler color photography – more serious, one might say – is provided by Henning Bendtsen in a Swedish film called *Hagbard and Signe*. This is an ancient tale, set in 1100, built on all the saga standards of swords and loyalty and death. Its standards are never made compelling, nor are its characters. Two of Bergman's favorite actors – Gunnar Björnstrand and Eva Dahlbeck – are on holiday in this film.

Several times during the picture (which was shot in Iceland) I almost left to escape the tedium, but each time Bendtsen persuaded me to stay. His work is reminiscent of the best Japanese color films – pastel shades and gentle harmonies, rather than the amusing contrasts of *Boom*. If it is possible to see a fiction film for its photography, this is an instance.

*I'll Never Forget What's 'Is Name* is another in the relatively recent line of British films about corruption-by-affluence. *Nothing But the Best, Two for the Road,* and *Charlie Bubbles* are some of the items in Britain's belated discovery of the golden calf, and the curious thing about most of them is that, one way or another, they exemplify the corruptions that they castigate.

This latest – slickly written and edited and acted – is about a successful young producer of TV commercials who decides to go back to the purity from which he came, a small literary journal, only to find that purity crumbling. He returns to TV, hoping to make one last commercial that will blow his seductive boss skyhigh, but his planned insult turns out a smash. Defeated in his attempts both to resume virginity and to destroy commerce, he settles for more money.

The film opens with a typically meretricious touch. The hero (a patent-leather performance by Oliver Reed) is marching through the London streets with an axe on his shoulder. We follow him up to his sleek office where he demolishes his desk with the axe as an act of liberation. It is a completely phony movieland metaphor, incredible for the man whom this picture presents as a rebel against phoniness. Again: Reed's viewpoint about advertising is finally shifted by the death of his girlfriend in a car smash – an event utterly unrelated to the film's ethical conflict. *Again:* the long fist-fight at a garden party near the end is pure celluloid – stale, corrupt movie fiction in a satire on staleness and corruption.

There is a good performance by Harvey Hall as a schoolboy sadist seen 15 years later. (The best sequence is a school reunion that reverts to juvenile viciousness.) Harry Andrews is again marvelously solid – this time as

*(Continued on page 43)*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# What Mailer Has Done

In Norman Mailer's hyperbolic world it will no doubt seem like a putdown to say that his new book is a fine, exciting piece of work, flawed but immensely interesting, a literary act whose significance is certain to grow. Mailer never lets us forget that he wants it all: all the kudos, all the marbles, honorary degrees in every field, a status that can best be described in a phrase from the adolescence he has never wholly shaken off: King of the Hill. All estimation of him is affected by his having always wanted, in the worst way, to *count*, the ferocity with which he attacks everything that stands in the way of his being seen to count having its roots in the fact that, as he says in this book, "the one personality he finds absolutely insupportable [is] the nice Jewish boy from Brooklyn."

*The Armies of the Night*
by Norman Mailer
(New American Library; $5.95)

That a nice Jewish boy from Brooklyn simply can't be a representative American figure, much less a mover and shaker, is the principle of much of Mailer's acrobatics and histrionic movements. He has willed himself into pertinence and power, and it is one of the most fascinating and instructive episodes of our recent cultural history. More than any other of our writers Mailer has intervened in the age so that he has come to count, more securely as time goes on, and if it isn't exactly in the way he wants, if it still seems ridiculous to call him the *best* American writer, he nevertheless matters in a way that only a man with so mighty and precarious an ego as his could find disappointing. He long ago made it out of niceness and Jewishness and Brooklyn; with this book he makes it into a central area of the American present, where all the rough force of his imagination, his brilliant gifts of observation, his ravishing if often calculated honesty, his daring and his *chutzpah* are able to flourish on the steady ground of a newly coherent subject and theme and to issue in a work more fully *in our interests* than any he has ever done.

Mailer's subject, as it has always been in some measure, is himself, but this time a self balanced between objective events and private consciousness in a riper way than ever before. And his theme is just that relation of antipathy but also fertile interdependence between the self and history, the ego and actuality, which he has always strenuously sought – with greater suggestiveness than substance it's often seemed – to make the arena and justification of his work. In writing about his participation in the anti-Vietnam demonstrations in Washington last October (most particularly the march on the Pentagon), Mailer has finally succeeded in laying hands on the novelistic character he has never quite been master of before, and at the same time succeeded in finding a superbly viable form for his scattered, imperfect and often greatly discordant gifts.

I don't think it's been clearly enough seen how Mailer's talents and strengths have for the most part been disjunctive if not wholly contradictory. Such contradiction may be a mainstay of his energy, but it's also an element of his fretful anarchy. His rather old-fashioned novelist's inquisitiveness about the behavior of men in society has, for example, often been diverted by his utopianism, his extra-literary hunger for things to change and change *now*, in palpable ways rather than in the imaginary, alternative ways, in which most artist-novelists deal. His ambition for guruhood, prophetic status, has run up against his violent need for immediate action. His repertorial gifts have been charged with novelistic daring but also corrupted by novelistic license. And his sense of writing as the expression and progress of personality, less a rigorous art than a style of public appearance, a way of counting, has kept him from achieving the full mastery of language, the hardwon grace of a conquest by which previously nonexistent realities are brought into being, that we associate with writers we call great.

In *The Armies of the Night* Mailer's talents come more than ever into working agreement and, moreover, move to ameliorate his deficiencies. Antinomies are resolved: the artist who has to invent and the observer who has to prey on facts merge into the same person; the transcendencies of art and the imminences of action move toward each other's replenishment; the excesses of personality find a new and strangely valuable use in the face of the opaque excesses (and history has come to be almost nothing but excesses) of our public days and years.

This is the central, rather wonderful achievement of the book, that in it history and personality confront each other with a new sense of liberation. By introducing his ego more directly into history than he ever has before, by taking events which were fast disappearing under the perversions and omissions of ordinary journalism as well as through the inertia we all feel in the face of what is *over with*, by taking these events and revivifying them, reinstating them in the present. Mailer has opened up new possibilities for the literary imagination and new room for us to breathe in the crush of actuality.

I don't think anyone who is more purely an artist than Mailer could have brought this off; but neither could any kind of journalist, no matter how superior. This is the conjunction of Mailer's special being – half artist-half activist, half inventor-half borrower – with what the times require: an end, for certain purposes, of literary aloofness on the one hand and of the myth of "objective" description on the other. With a speed approaching light's, history thrusts itself upon us, no longer



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*The good fight is* **now** *in*

**THE NATION**

*– why not join* **now?**

**FREE To New SUBSCRIBERS**

Commissioned and published by the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, IN THE NAME OF AMERICA gives a living, vivid picture of the large scale war of aggression in Vietnam. Here is testimony by soldiers, journalists, priests and others who have been involved.

**"This book is a fundamental challenge to anyone, whatever his preconceptions about the American presence in Vietnam. The challenge is whether you can read it all the way through and still have any doubt as to the complicity of us all in war crimes in that country."**

**– Nat Hentoff**

Join the good fight as a subscriber and we will send you this important book free.

---

**FREE OFFER** with new 1 year subscriptions to **THE NATION**
333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y.10014

☐ I'll join the good fight for **1 year** (48 issues). I enclose $10 and understand you'll send me ***free*** **IN THE NAME OF AMERICA.**

☐ I'll try you for **half** a year. I enclose $6.

(Add $1 postage for Canada, $2 Foreign)

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

**NR6-8**

the special province of "history-making" people, no longer the mysterious work of blind forces or, alternatively, of scientifically ascertainable "laws." History is indeed what we make it, and Mailer, by making himself the chief character of a "novel" whose truth doesn't have to be invented and by making history reveal an "esthetic" dimension has helped bridge gaps of long standing, has brought some ordinarily sundered things together in a revelatory book whose nearest counterpart in our literature, for all the obvious differences, is Henry Adams' *Education*.

How well Mailer's ego serves him now! He begins his education and the book with an account of his reluctant agreement to participate in the demonstrations. In these pages, the notorious literary personality, with its disarming shifts between megalomania and self-deprecation, is fully on display. He speaks (in the third person, as he does throughout the book) of the "living tomb of his legend," tells how "he hated to put in time with losers," writes grandly of how the "architecture of his personality bore resemblance to some provincial cathedral which warring orders of the church might have designed separately over several centuries," reveals that "a party lacked flavor for him unless someone very rich or social was present," and tells us about his "illusion of genius," the "wild man in himself," the "absolute egomaniac" and the "snob of the worst sort."

All this has two functions: to "humanize" the character who is going to participate in history, and to push his sense of self to its limits, so that history will have the most formidable, because most representative opponent. Much of Mailer's appeal has always lain in his stance vis-à-vis the powers that be; the Jimmy Cagney of literature, he has especially been a model for youth, who have always admired him perhaps more for being a welterweight taking on heavies than for being a heavyweight himself. And as Mailer moves on into the actual events of those four days in Washington this cocky stance – the self as the equal of all large intimidating public opponents, yet also the self aware of its small size and internal divisions – becomes a representative posture for all of us. More than ever, Mailer's embattled ego is seen to be the troubled, sacrificial, rash and unconquerable champion for all of ours.

The ego fluctuates wildly. He arrives in Washington in a sober mood: "Like most New Yorkers he usually felt small in Washington. The capital invariably seemed to take the measure of men like him." But the "wild man" he harbors pushes forward and takes over. At a party given by a liberal academic couple, in whose home he smells "the scent of the void which comes off a Xerox copy," he manages to affront his hostess. At a rally later at the Ambassador theatre he outrages nearly everybody by what is to be reported in the press as his drunken behavior. He is indeed somewhat drunk, but not without wit or point to his actions, and his account of the evening is a sustained triumph of autobiographical writing.

But autobiography of a particularly intense and unconventional kind. Into this report of a public meeting, his part in which had months before been corrupted into "history" by *Time* magazine and the daily press, Mailer introduces the most personal matters: his having missed the urinal in a dark men's room; his resentment at having been replaced as M. C., his strongly ambivalent attitude towards the audience. And into this candid and irreverent autobiography he sweeps the other participants – Paul Goodman, Dwight Macdonald, Robert Lowell – writing about them in a form of high and liberating gossip, infusing particularity and personality and queer informing detail into their remote public biographies, their status as names.

Macdonald, "the operative definition of the gregarious," "gesticulated awkwardly, squinted at his text, laughed at his own jokes, looked like a giant stork, whinnied, shrilled and was often inaudible." Lowell, towards whom Mailer positions himself through much of the book in a remarkably frank species of testing, a weighing of their very different personalities and backgrounds, stands "with a glint of the oldest Yankee light winging off like a mad laser from his eye," gives off "at times the unwilling haunted saintli-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness of a man who was repaying the moral debts of ten generations of ancestors," moves with a slouch the "languid grandeurs" of which testify to generations of primacy in Boston and at Harvard, and provides Mailer with one of the book's central themes and preoccupations.

For in seeking a shape for the relationship of the self to the historical events of that weekend in Washington, and to the historical realities that had led up to it, Mailer has understood how his own self has to be employed as both battleground and partial perspective, how other selves such as Lowell's, products of an almost wholly different background from his, an America of complex traditions, austere moralities, rooted political conscience, elegance, personal diffidence combined with patrician standards for public behavior – the textbook older American *style* – have to be taken into the picture so that it might be seen what a confluence of varied egos and personalities occurred at that point in Washington, within history, facing it and making it. Lowell (the New England style), Paul Goodman (the wholly liberated urban Jewish style) and the multifarious styles of the older liberals and young dissidents and radicals who made up the bulk of the demonstrators: something congruent and crucial to our American understanding rose from their incongruity and widely separated motives, their having come from so many starting-points to that time and place.

As the demonstrators gather for the march on the Pentagon, Mailer moves brilliantly between analyses of his own immediate feelings, descriptions of the look and feel of the crowd, and a grand, lyrical sociology. As the tension rises he finds himself going beyond the play-acting which has subtly characterized his participation up to now, "as if some final cherished rare innocence of childhood still preserved intact in him was brought finally to the surface and there expired, so he lost at that instant the last secret delight in life as a game where finally you never got hurt if you played the game well enough."

He looks at the young rebels, who have started from points well beyond his own romantic and fundamentally "cultured" view:

> "A generation of the American young had come along different from five previous generations of the middle class. The new generation believed in technology, more than any before it, but the generation also believed in LSD, in witches, in tribal knowledge, in orgy and revolution. It had no respect whatsoever for the unassailable knowledge of the next step; belief was reserved for the revelatory mystery of the happening where you did not know what was going to happen next; that was what was good about it. Their radicalism was in their hate for the authority – the authority was the manifest of evil to this generation. It was the authority who had covered the land with those suburbs where they stifled as children while watching the adventures of the West in the movies, while looking at the guardians of dull genial celebrity on television;

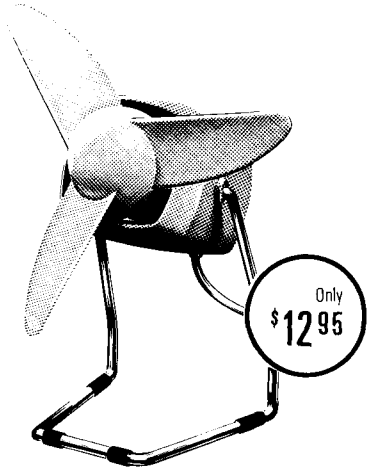
Mozart wrote that he could no more account for the style of his music than for the shape of his nose, although he said that the clicking of billiards gave him ideas. AR has nothing to add to Mozart, nor do our loudspeakers. You can hear the musical importance of this restraint at AR Music Rooms in Grand Central, N.Y., and Brattle St., Cambridge, or at AR dealers in the Americas, Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia.

AR INC.

ACOUSTIC RESEARCH, INC.,
24 Thorndike St.
Cambridge, Mass. 02141.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




We first saw this beautiful fan in Cousteau's movie, "World Without Sun". It kept "oceanauts comfortable deep beneath tropical seas. ■ Solid body and soft, soft plastic blades can't hurt baby or pets. Chrome frame with rubber cushions for table or wall. ■ Two-speed noiseless motor runs continuously without heating ■ A gem of Italian design.

KEEP COOL

Mail to: 584 Washington, San Francisco 94111
Phone: (415) 981-5688

☐ Send me **SOREL**. 1 enc. $13.95 ($12.95 plus $1 for post. & ins.) Calif. res. add 5%. Refund within 10 days if not delighted.

Name_____
Address_____
_____ Zip_____

TNR 0608 haverhill's

ATTACH LABEL HERE

CHANGING ADDRESS?

*Send both old and new addresses to*

Subscription Department
The New Republic
381 West Center St., Marion, Ohio 43302

*Allow four weeks for change to become effective*

New Address

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State ..... Zip.....

they had had their minds jabbed, poked and twitched and probed and finally galvanized into surrealistic modes of response by commercials cutting into dramatic narratives, and parents flipping from network to network – they were forced willy-nilly to build their idea of the space-time continuum (and therefore their nervous system) on the jumps and cracks and leaps and breaks which every phenomenon from the medium seemed to contain within it."

The balance he maintains, the breadth of his vision here, his capacity to see history whole while being immersed in its unfolding and while in the act of *rewriting* it (always a keen temptation to tendentiousness) – these, I think, are the result of his novelist's patience and sophistication holding his ideological horses in check. The young are "villains" too:

"Mailer was haunted by the nightmare that the evils of the present not only exploited the present, but consumed the past, and gave every promise of demolishing whole territories of the future. The same villains who, promiscuously, wantonly, heedlessly, had gorged on LSD and consumed God knows what essential marrows of history, wearing indeed the history of all eras on their back as trophies of this gluttony, were now going forth (conscience-struck?) to make war on those other villains, corporation-land villains, who were destroying the promise of the present in their self-righteousness and greed and secret lust (often unknown in themselves) for some sexotechnological variety of neo-fascism. Mailer's final allegiance, however, was to the villains who were hippies."

The March proceeds. In a superb passage, one in which all the strands of personality and public stance, self and community, politics and feeling are brought reinforcingly together, Mailer moves to appropriate and give utterance to a passionate, coherent moment within the chaos and cross-purposes of life in this country in our time:

". . . the sense of America divided on this day now liberated some undiscovered patriotism in Mailer so that he felt a sharp searing love for his country in this moment and on this day, crossing some divide in his own mind wider than the Potomac, a love so lacerated he felt as if a marriage were being torn and children lost – never does one love so much as then, obviously, then, – and an odor of wood smoke, from where you knew not, was also in the air, a smoke of dignity and some calm heroism. . . . Mailer knew for the first time why men in the front line of a battle are almost always ready to die: there is a promise of some swift transit – one's soul feels clean . . . walking with Lowell and Macdonald, he felt as if he stepped through some crossing in the reaches of space between this moment, the French Revolution, and the Civil War, as if the ghosts of the Union Dead accompanied them now to the Bastille. . . ."

And now, as culmination:

". . . he was arrested, he had succeeded in that, and without a club on his head, the mountain air in his lungs as thin and fierce as smoke, yes, the livid air of tension on this livid side promised a few events of more interest than the routine wait to be free, yes he was more than a visitor, he was in the land of the enemy now, he would get to see their face."

From this point, about half way through, the intensity slackens somewhat, the writing growing rather more abstract, the thought more general. "Prisoner of his own egotism, some large part of the March had ended for him with his own arrest." Yet the book remains steadily interesting. Into the account of his two days in jail Mailer inserts passages of political and intellectual autobiography, opinions on many social matters, a theory and position paper on the Vietnam war (together with a remarkable, bold insight into how this most "obscene" of wars has paradoxically provided him and countless other Americans with "new energy"), obiter dicta on American phenomena, all of which are sustained and given resonance by the foundation



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of extraordinary pertinence and the atmosphere of intimate, incorruptible dialogue that have been established.

In the last quarter of the book Mailer turns from "History as a Novel" to "The Novel as History." What he means by these phrases isn't always clear, nor are his claims for what he's done convincing in the way he intends. In dividing his book this way – the first long section composing a history in the form of fiction, that is to say as a true "tale" with characters, a plot, a narrative, etc., the second making up a novel in the form of history, *i.e.* actual events treated as though they exemplify fictional structures and procedures, an "esthetic," as Mailer says – he hasn't succeeded in nailing down the distinctions he's after. One senses something only half right in his argument that only "the instincts of the novelist" can get at the "mystery" of such historical events as the Washington demonstration and in his proposition that because such history is so largely "interior" the "novel must replace history at precisely that point where experience is sufficiently emotional, spiritual, psychical, moral, existential, or supernatural to expose the fact that the historian in pursuing the experience would be obliged to quit the clearly demarcated limits of historical inquiry."

The trouble lies in Mailer's notion of "novel" and "novelist." The idea has always ruled him – and is, I think, the source of his erratic and inconclusive performance as an imaginative writer – of the novelist as someone whose gifts of intuition and prophecy enable him to see more deeply than other men into society or human organizations. From this follows the notion that novels are superior reports on social or psychic or moral phenomena and that fiction is therefore a superior way of agitating for change and helping bring it about. I think this a rather outdated conception of fiction and that his possession of it, along with his retention of the Hemingwayian policy of style as performance, has kept Mailer on certain wrong, if for him inevitable, tracks. Novels, the best ones, have very little to do anymore with such uses (what they once had to do with them was, for that matter, largely in the realm of pretext); novelists who are artists expect nothing to change, do not imagine that their work can safeguard or resurrect men, have no interest in being *acknowledged* legislators. The novel remains, through all its present travail, a medium for the creation of new kinds of truth and pleasure.

What Mailer has done is not to have written a novel in the form of history or history in the form of a novel, not to have produced any startlingly new forms, but to have rescued history from abstraction and aridity by approaching it with certain "novelistic" instruments at the ready and in a certain large, general "novelistic" spirit. They are rather old-fashioned things, constituents of an older idea of fiction, the kind of qualities we associate with Balzac and Zola and Maugham and textbook notions of the novel. A more advanced novelist than Mailer, one less interested in getting at social or political reality, wouldn't have been able to bring it off; that Mailer is only imperfectly a novelist, that his passion for moving and shaking the actual has prevented him from fully inhabiting imaginary kingdoms, is the underlying, paradoxical strength of this book.

The important thing is that Mailer has refused to leave history, actuality, to historians and journalists. Writing *as he can*, as part-inventor, part-observer, part-intervener, writing with gusto and vigor and an almost unprecedented kind of honesty, writing very badly at times (among dozens of examples, these: "they sensed quickly that they now shared one enclave to the hilt;" "One the *a fortiori* evidence, then, they were young men with souls of interesting dimension"; "psychedelic newspapers consider themselves removed from any fetish with factology") but writing always with a steady aim: to do for our present situation and, by implication, all our communal pasts and futures, what our traditional instrumentalities of knowledge and transcription haven't been able to do – place our public acts and lives in a human context – Mailer has put us all in his debt. In the light of that, whether or not he's the best writer in America, the best novelist or the best journalist would seem to be considerations out of a different sort of game.

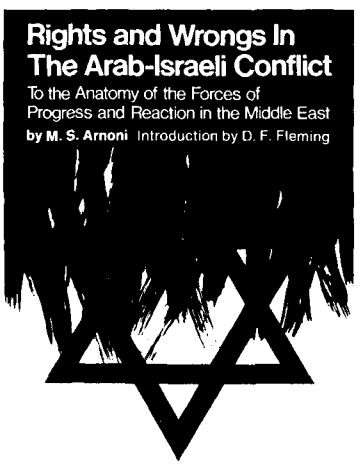

**DOCUMENTED**

**CHALLENGING**

**PROVOCATIVE**

A Must Book For The Informed Person

A Middle East View Stripped of Prejudice and Political Distortion


Rights and Wrongs In
The Arab-Israeli Conflict
To the Anatomy of the Forces of
Progress and Reaction in the Middle East
by M. S. Arnoni Introduction by D. F. Fleming

**Are Nazi genocides to be matched by "socialist" genocides?**

**Little known background facts, shedding light on the true nature of Arab and Jewish nationalisms, their conflict, and their respective interplay with international forces.**

**PAGE 110:** "The spectacle of communists, socialists and Asian and African anti-imperialists supporting the policies of unreformed pro-Nazi Arab leaders is unbelievable despite its sad reality. No presumed ideological or political consistency is worth such dehumanization."

**PAGE 101:** "Soviet zeal in opposing Israel provided the opportunity for many an unadmitted East European anti-Semite at last to find a respectable outlet for long frustrated emotions."

It is the best study of the Arab-Israeli conflict and tragedy. It is unique and indispensable in an area of history and knowledge that is of utmost concern to the contemporary world.

**Maxwell Geismar**
*Writer and Critic*

My deep congratulations on your courageous defense of righteousness and justice.

**Prince Norodom Sihanouk**
*Head of State of Cambodia*

You absolutely live up to your claim of pursuing truth no matter whose corns are stepped on.

**Cedric Belfrage**
*Writer and Editor*

**THE MINORITY OF ONE PRESS** NR-1
155 Pennington Ave.,
Passaic, N.J. 07055

Send ..... copy/copies of **Rights and Wrongs in the Arab-Israeli Conflict** by M. S. Arnoni, at $6.00 per copy (add 3% Sales Tax).

**Name** .....

**Address** .....

.....




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Agony of the Novel

*by Leo Bersani*

The tired question of whether or not the novel is dead takes on a certain pertinence with the publication of a work as impressive and as frustrating as this. Claude Simon has generally been spoken of as belonging to that non-movement in France which, for the sake of convenience and theory, came to be known in the '50's as the New Novel. As usual with such labels, this one seemed designed to throw us off the track: French fiction in the last fifteen or twenty years has been in fact not very new and in intention decidedly anti-novelistic. There was nonetheless some justification in lumping together such immensely different talents as those of Simon, Robbe-Grillet, Butor, Nathalie Sarraute, and Pinget. For in them we recognize a common enterprise of what might be called decadent literary terrorism. Decadent because we are dealing with a highly self-conscious, tediously explicit, and comparatively minor (the only great writer of the period is Beckett) repetition of the revolution in fiction brought about by Flaubert and Joyce. Terroristic because of the intolerantly polemical nature of a crusade against what has for some time now been merely the strawman of traditional fiction.

*Histoire*
by Claude Simon
translated by Richard Howard
(Braziller; $5.95)

The main lines of the attack can be seen most clearly in the manifesto-like simplicities of Robbe-Grillet's *For A New Novel*, which holds out the promise of fiction devoid of story, of psychology, and of the chronological sequence of events. What will the subject of this "new" fiction be? The answer is provided by more recent and more extreme developments in French literary thought; it emanates mainly from that cultural calamity published three times a year in Paris under the name of *Tel Quel*. Instead of novels naïve enough to present themselves as "about" reality, we can expect a kind of narrative – or *récit* – inspired by and illustrating the laws of its own structure. We will then have eliminated not only the stories of fiction but also its authors. For when literary discourse merely "speaks through" the deceptively individual presence holding the pen, literature is finally (if unimaginably) released from the contingencies of personality and of history, and the Book, as it were, will have written Itself.

*Histoire* (now admirably translated by Richard Howard) is far from being a page of that chimerical Book, but its interest does lie in a certain tension between a more familiar type of fiction and the evident intention of destroying that very familiarity. Simon is what used to be known as a "born novelist," and *Histoire* is potentially rich in "human interest," in anecdote and psychology. It is the uneventful "story" of a day in the narrator's life (he remains unnamed) as well as the "history" of his life as it comes back to him in fragments during that day. The narrator's memories are both framed and disciplined by what he does between getting up and going to bed. But the anecdotal excitement of *Histoire* is not in what the narrator does, but in what he remembers. The book is constantly hinting at interesting personalities and dramatic episodes and relationships in the past of the narrator's family. However, Simon defies us to become interested in any of these stories, and his method even makes it impossible in some instances to know exactly what the story was. The past often invades the present without the usual typographical warnings of a new sentence or paragraph, and the mixture is made even more confusing by the fact that the whole novel is written in past tenses. The "he" referred to in one line may not be the same person as the "he" mentioned in the next line; and in a couple of passages the "I" is no longer the narrator but Uncle Charles. And then there is the perversity of Simon's punctuation: he has an almost comical aversion to the period (even in a series of coherently complete sentences, each of which begins quite respectably with a capital letter), and its occasional presence gives a kind of mechanical, cheaply gained intensity to those few places in the book where the verbal flow is unexpectedly and brutally checked. Finally, an exasperating use of long parenthetical insertions in the middle of a "sentence" forces us constantly to go back and search for where the sentence was interrupted (and there are often parentheses within parentheses) so that we can make sense of a development which in fact is usually continuing, with conventional logic, a sentence begun and suspended one or two pages earlier.

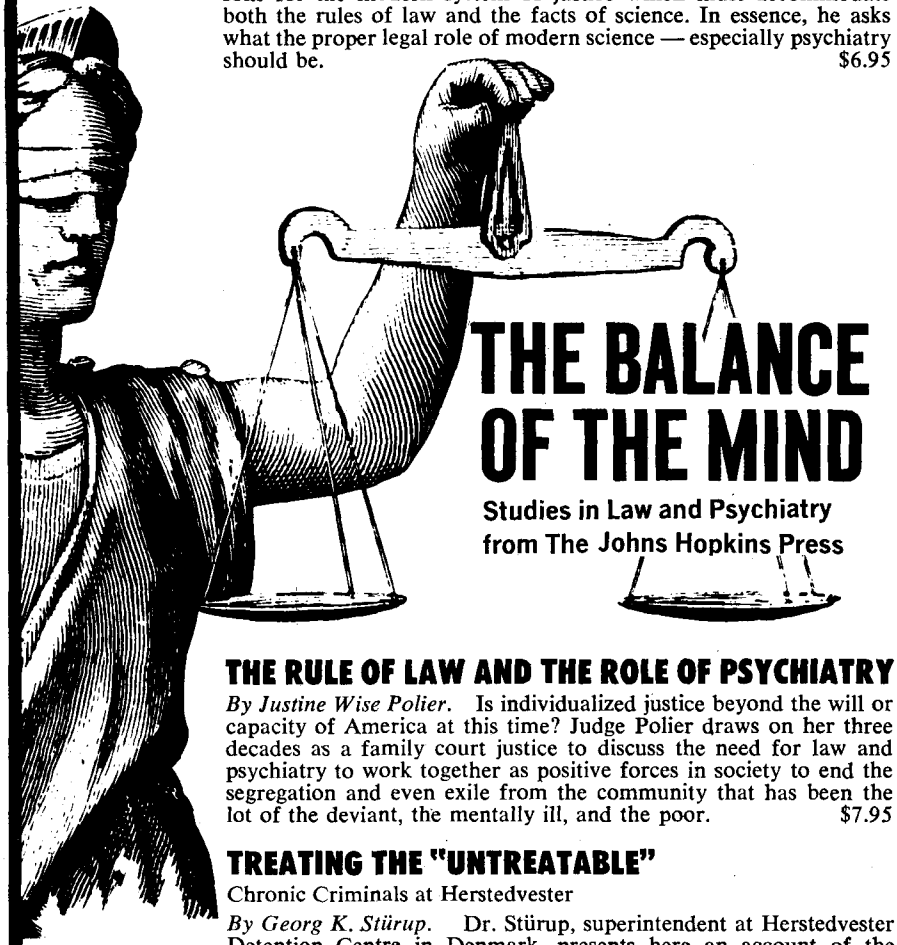
The confusion, however, is highly systematized, and if you find it worth the trouble, you will probably be able to work out in some detail the various "messages" in Simon's use (or non-use) of the period, of colons and parentheses, in his decision to capitalize now and then, and in his paragraphing. It's perhaps more important to define the muddled theory of consciousness which, in Simon as well as in other modern novelists, transforms the act of reading into the chore of rearranging the pieces of a deliberately jumbled puzzle. The peculiarities of Simon's method – as of Robbe-Grillet's – have been adopted in the name of a new "realism." The argument is that the coherent, rational sequences of traditional fiction give a false image of the actual operation of mental processes. "In memory," Simon said in an interview after the publication of *The Flanders Road* (1960), "everything is located on the same level: dialogue, emotion and vision co-exist." Feelings are "contiguous" in consciousness but they are also fragmentary and "discontinuous," and Simon has been attempting to build a literary structure which would allow him "to present in sequence elements which in reality are superimposed, to rediscover a purely sensory architecture." Thus the sudden shifts, within a single, unpunctuated block of narrative, from dialogue to description, from present to past, from emotion to perception, presumably give us the nearest *literary* approximation to the rationally disconnected but "spatially" simultaneous existence of all those elements in the mind at any



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given moment.

But, as Simon himself seems to realize, literature can never really imitate that simultaneity. No matter how many changes of mental direction are crowded into the same page, we can never grasp them all at once; to read is to take the time required to move from one line of print to the next. Now this objection is an uninterestingly obvious, if necessary one to make; the remarks quoted in the last paragraph undoubtedly deserve closer and more serious attention. What bothers me most in Simon's theory and practice is the assumption that in consciousness "everything is located on the same level." What does this mean? To judge from the often incoherent juxtapositions of perceptions, memories, emotions and fantasies in *Histoire*, I would say that Simon proceeds from a metaphor of spatial co-existence to the elimination of affective priorities in mental life. In order to emphasize the fact that the mind is too rich to be reduced to the continuously significant stories of traditional fiction, Simon neutralizes and devaluates the psychologically significant "content" of *Histoire* by making it as fragmentary and as unintelligible as possible. The narrator's unhappy love affair occupies his mind "on the same level" as the conversation he overhears in a restaurant or the patterns of light and darkness he sees in the banker's office: all three are "contiguous" but "discontinuous" in his mind. And, in a sense, Simon's ideal would seem to be to write a novel resembling the notebooks of the dying old woman Marie in *The Grass* (1958), notebooks in which the death of her sister is given almost exactly the same *recorded* importance as recipes or the price of food. The notation of tragedy is simply *next to* the number of francs spent for eggs or meat. The old woman's accounts (meticulously kept for fifty years) are the only account she leaves of her life, and in her refusal "to make any distinction between the fact – the necessity – of getting more logs for the fireplace, of wearing a dress, or of dying," the narrator invites us to see "some secret knowledge" of "the very warp and woof of existence," the sign of an experience of life so precise and so rigorous that it needs "neither books nor sentences."

THE BALANCE OF THE MIND

Studies in Law and Psychiatry from The Johns Hopkins Press

**READINGS IN LAW AND PSYCHIATRY**

*Edited by Richard C. Allen, Elyce Zenoff Ferster, and Jesse G. Rubin.* The editors of this volume of readings, developed for their own seminar in law and psychiatry, have attempted to meet the need of law students for more background in the behavioral sciences. Proceeding from basic psychiatric concepts through specific legal problems, they draw heavily on primary sources such as trial transcripts. Each group of readings is provided with an introduction, commentaries, questions for discussion, and suggested collateral readings. $12.50

**SCIENCE AND JUSTICE**

The Massachusetts Witchcraft Trials

*By Sanford J. Fox.* In a unique study that is primarily an analysis of the manner in which the witchcraft prosecutions felt the influence of the Scientific Revolution, the author draws important lessons for the modern system of justice which must accommodate both the rules of law and the facts of science. In essence, he asks what the proper legal role of modern science — especially psychiatry should be. $6.95

**THE RULE OF LAW AND THE ROLE OF PSYCHIATRY**

*By Justine Wise Polier.* Is individualized justice beyond the will or capacity of America at this time? Judge Polier draws on her three decades as a family court justice to discuss the need for law and psychiatry to work together as positive forces in society to end the segregation and even exile from the community that has been the lot of the deviant, the mentally ill, and the poor. $7.95

**TREATING THE "UNTREATABLE"**

Chronic Criminals at Herstedvester

*By Georg K. Stürup.* Dr. Stürup, superintendent at Herstedvester Detention Centre in Denmark, presents here an account of the methods he has developed for treating chronic criminals. He describes the institution's philosophy, prevailing attitudes toward it, and the day-to-day routine of the inmates and staff, and illustrates through case histories the results of his therapeutic approach. $10.00

**LAW AND PSYCHIATRY**

Cold War or *Entente Cordiale*?

*By Sheldon Glueck.* "The book is a penetrating and critical account. . . . It is a devastating analysis of why and how the law of insanity made the psychiatrist practically useless to the judge and jury. . . ." — *William O. Douglas, Harvard Law Review*

$4.95 cloth; JH-17, $1.95 paper

**THE GUILTY MIND**

Psychiatry and the Law of Homicide

*By John Biggs, Jr.* "Judge Biggs has prepared a well-documented historical background dealing with former attitudes of lawyers and how these influence current concepts of the law and mental illness." — *American Journal of Psychiatry* JH-33, $2.25 paper

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
Baltimore, Md. 21218




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To do without books and sentences: the villain in Simon's primitive-romantic myth is language, or, more particularly, literature. The experience of war in *The Flanders Road* leads Georges to a violent rejection of his father's love of culture and trust in reason; the later novel explains Georges' appearance as the brutal, deliberately inarticulate self-made peasant of *The Grass*. But how can we escape the novelization of life which characterizes literature? – and, more profoundly *is* there any form of human life more "authentic" than the fables we have invented about it? The most striking fact about *Histoire* is that Simon's earnest fidelity to what he calls the "swarming and rigorous disorder of memory" constitutes a dazzling *literary* performance. It's the very refusal "to tell a story" which gives away the story-teller, the *littérateur*. For the narrative – like the narrator's life – is loaded with portentous passages, and by attempting to give them the same weight, the same novelistic space as far more disinterested and emotionally neutral perceptions, Simon merely reminds us of his own theoretical interference with what is perhaps the *naturally* coherent way in which consciousness makes a drama of existence.

We might expect that lesson to have been learned from Proust. Far from presenting his past in a form meant to imitate the disorder of involuntary memory, the Proustian narrator significantly reconverts that momentary confusion into a passionately rationalized narrative. And in the metaphorical correspondences which make of each section of *A la Recherche du temps perdu* an enriched repetition of the preceding section, we have what seems to me an accurate representation of consciousness *extended* in time. The intersections where the various elements of Marcel's past meet are thematic rather than typographical. And precisely because he makes no attempt to present everything at once and "on the same level," the structure of his work reveals the patient architecture by which the mind makes a story, which is to say an identity, from its experience. Simon's image of juxtaposed but discontinuous particles of consciousness describes the abstract geography of an unthinkable "pure moment" lifted outside time; it is an academic speculation in mental anatomy, eliminating the "story" of *Histoire* and the possibility of a "history."

How, finally, are we to read a work like *Histoire*? How, more exactly, are we to understand the transitions which are after all made among all those supposedly discontinuous elements? We move from one memory or perception to another by a kind of compromise between intelligible (if obscured) psychological associations and the more impersonal associations of verbal "chance." Personality and anecdote are fragmentary in *Histoire* not simply because of Simon's notion of what consciousness "is really like," but perhaps primarily because he is also tempted by just that linguistic virtuosity which he nonetheless accuses of distorting reality. Simon has the richest, most eloquent, most luxuriantly sensuous style of the New Novelists. He is difficult to read, but he at least *writes* – by which I mean that his prose has a brilliance and a density designed to reassure the average reader that literature can still be beautiful. Some American reviewers have predictably called *Histoire* a "poetic novel" – the term generally reserved for books we find boring, incoherent, and almost unreadable, but in which a sort of austerely flashy language reinforces our view of art as the remote and sublime activity of an excruciatingly refined sensibility.

The praise in France for what I take to be Simon's very real talent as a maker of sentences (even without periods) has of course been considerably more sophisticated. One reviewer has spoken of the narrator of *Histoire* as a mere "undifferentiated grammatical support"; the voice we hear is not that of a person but rather that of a pure "narrating power which can fuse all categories, time, space and individuals." And Jean Ricardou praised *The Flanders Road* for its strictly "morphological significance"; it is a "semantic symphony," "a monologue of language itself." "Left to itself, [language] even tends to expel the man who is supposed to produce it." Thus Simon has been forcibly assimilated to the current interests of French literary thought. But his fiction, unlike the truly radically original work of Beckett or Blanchot, hardly lends itself to such definitions. Rather, it illustrates the dilemma of an anachronistically novelistic sensibility in today's literary climate. As a novelist, Simon has the virtues and the faults of a Sainte-Beuve: an impressive but excessive stylistic richness deadens the dramatic impact of his fiction. But he is also the victim of a literary evolution which makes the very impulse to write novels a risky and problematic adventure. And so a needlessly complicated technique – apparently the sign of his "modernity" – destroys the consistency of personality without creating a text able to survive the absence of personality. *Histoire* teases us with the promise of a certain form of literary activity while it also anxiously reminds us of the death of that form. Superficially, that confusion may appear to document a consoling gap between much of human experience and some far-out literary speculation. But the argument against the excesses of our now formalism will have to be more explicit and more rigorous than anything provided by Simon's half-hearted, embarrassed commitment to the psychological fictions of the pre-Flaubertian novel.

**I REQUIRE . . .**

**a "dating service" that**

- ☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
- ☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
- ☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
- ☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
- ☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE

**MIND MATES**
**Bureau for Interpersonal Relations**
**509 Fifth Ave., New York, New York 10017**
**MU 2-3757**

**AUTHORS OF BOOKS**
Manuscripts invited for our consideration. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. Complete book publishing services since 1920.
Send for free brochure H-52. ▶
**DORRANCE & COMPANY, INC.**
1809 Callowhill St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130
to be published by DORRANCE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Church and the Holy Spirit

*by Robert Coles*

In Simone Weil's great and agonized letter to Georges Bernanos she took up an issue that continually haunted her: "I have sometimes told myself that if only there were a notice on church doors forbidding entry to anyone with an income above a certain figure, and that a low one, I would be converted at once." But then she goes directly on to make another observation that

*Three Modernists*
by John Ratté
(Sheed and Ward; $6.95)

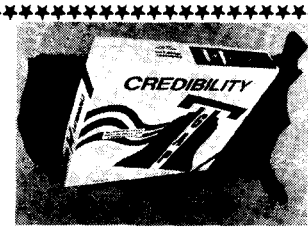
shows how honest (hence, ironic and tormented) her mind could be: "From my childhood onwards I sympathized with those organizations which spring from the lowest and least regarded social strata, until the time when I realized that such organizations are of a kind to discourage all sympathy."

Simone Weil – like Orwell and Agee and Bernanos – was one of our century's desperately religious persons who could not for a moment forget what God's justice and grace means. That is to say, they were writers who could never rest easy with Man and his works. I suppose they could be called fussy, idiosyncratic, too scrupulous, too demanding – and one can easily go on to any number of psychological terms. Yet, the paradox Simone Weil mentioned to Bernanos is an old and well-known one. God's Words or man's finest visions are constantly betrayed by the practices of religious or political institutions. In her references to "organizations" Miss Weil had in mind leftist ones, which she had encountered in Spain during its civil war. She was not about to turn into a right-wing apologist for *other* (and worse) organizations like the Falange. She was out to do something else, remind herself how arrogant and cruel men can be in the name of almost anything: Marx or Freud; Progress, Property, or Justice; and, alas, Faith or God Himself. In a way she was writing a small footnote to a later book written by others, *The God That Failed;* except that she never really did embrace any of this century's secular gods. And for exactly the same reasons she kept her distance from the Catholic Church, which always powerfully attracted her. She could never forget those power-mad Bishops, those rich and self-indulgent Cardinals, and those Popes, all of whom – like their counterparts in various Protestant sects, or indeed left-wing political "movements" – have betrayed Christ over the centuries.

Kierkegaard repeatedly insisted that many of those who live safely within the harbor of a Christian church find it harder than an outsider like Miss Weil to remain loyal to Christ's teachings. John Ratté's new book demonstrates just how right that very great Protestant theologian was – at least with regard to the Catholic Church. Ratté's three "modernists" are Alfred Loisy, a French Catholic priest who was excommunicated in 1908; George Tyrrell, an Anglo-Irish Protestant who became a Jesuit and was excommunicated in 1907; and William L. Sullivan, an American priest who resigned from the Paulist order to become (for twenty years) a Unitarian minister. Though all three were priests of the Catholic Church at the turn of the century – and priests of a particularly independent and skeptical turn of mind – they were by no means alike. In fact, they represent three very distinct traditions within the Church.

Loisy was above all French, very much like the priests who appear in Bernanos' novels: faithful to the Church, but in the way one is loyal to the fatherland, the soil, the community. Loisy's "problem" was that he simply couldn't ignore the 19th century's new scientific and historical knowledge. Nothing tells more about him than what he came to: after his excommunication he was elected to the professional chair (at the College de France) once occupied by Ernest Renan – the unfrocked seminarist and notorious heretic who wrote a *study* of the life of a *man* named Jesus Christ. Loisy loved the Church, but had grave doubts about Christianity. By his own description he became "more pantheist-positivist-humanitarian than Christian." Yet he had no doubt that if there is a "historical Jesus" there is also a historical Church, an enormously significant institution that for generations has existed to teach men, offer them love and forgiveness, a sense of the past and a shred of present meaning. As the Church's lover, Loisy, like many of his countrymen, demanded both too much and too little: he had no illusions about the institution that he had vowed to cherish and adore; but because he had surrendered himself to a passion, the tears came when the affair was declared both over and a mistake.

George Tyrrell was quite another kind


**CREDIBILITY GAP**

***From coast to coast – the most acclaimed game in years!***

**"A Dream of a Game"** *(San Francisco Chronicle),* **"Fun for Skeptics"** *(New York Times),* **"Twits the Politicians"** *(National Observer).*

Discover why publications ranging from *Business Week* to *The New Republic,* from *The Student Times* to *Newsweek* eagerly hailed this **"phenomenal," "amusing," "controversial"** game which is **"fast becoming a national pastime."**

Devised by two inspired professors for *all* Americans from 13 to 97 with a sense of humor. For 2, 3, or 4 players.

Only $5.95. **Unconditionally guaranteed.** Immediate delivery. Join the tens of thousands of citizen-players who now are armed for campaign oratory.

**AMHERST GAME COMPANY, INC.**
**P.O. Box 5, South Pleasant Street**
**Amherst, Mass. 01002**

Gentlemen: Please send by return mail my **CREDIBILITY GAP** game. If I so desire, I'll mail it back at the end of a week and receive a full refund. I enclose $5.95 plus 55c for packaging & shipping.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

☐ **GIFT IDEA:** Enclose $11.50 and we'll send **two** sets of the game. All shipping costs paid by us. You save $1.50. Same refund guarantee.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Catholic, a man who felt himself in the spiritual tradition of Cardinal Newman. He was a literate, cultivated scholar and an immensely devout man whose complicated philosophical and theological struggle with Rome is by no means outdated. The Catholic Church has largely come to terms with men like Schweitzer and Renan, and even Darwin or Freud; in a number of encyclicals, even before John XXIII, it let it be known that it could probably live more comfortably with contemporary science than could, say, the state of Tennessee or a number of Protestant sects in this country. What the Church has not and may never resolve is the tension between, in Tyrrell's words, its "theologians and canonists, who lust to tyrannize over the minds of men as intellectual despots," and the simple man of faith, who desperately seeks after God, seeks, for example, to know and experience Him in Holy Communion. Tyrrell, who in certain respects anticipates Teilhard de Chardin, saw Catholicism as "primarily a life, and the Church a spiritual organism in whose life we participate." He was not troubled by the idea that man evolved from a "lower" species, or that we are powerfully influenced by an unconscious. Quite the contrary, faith to him emphatically did *not* mean "mental assent to a system of conceptions. . . ." He saw the mind as the "emergent point" of all sorts of experiences and memories, and saw very clearly that what we learn about the world and about ourselves threatens the Church's leaders rather than its articles of faith. He could not forget that "Our Lord and His apostles . . . were excommunicated by the lawful ecclesiastical authority for refusing to be silent."

Loisy and Tyrrell wanted the Church more than or in spite of its particular edicts or rules. The third modernist, William Sullivan, an essayist and novelist as well as a priest, left the Church for America and all our liberal pieties. Here they are in a speech called "The Ultimate Principles of Unitarian Christianity": "The highest test, the ultimate standard of any religious doctrine or institution or scripture is to be found in the moral faculties of man. . . . Nothing can be good in God which would be base, revengeful, in man. . . . Whatever the unspoiled conscience of good men agree upon as fundamentally, ultimately, good is God Almighty's will."

Simone Weil knew how naïve and shallow such talk is. So did Loisy and Tyrrell for that matter, both of whom tried to inform the Vatican that the various Protestant sects were far more vulnerable to scientific inquiry than the Catholic Church. But at that time men in Rome would hear nothing of such advice because the Vatican was a power, a state, an organization fighting a worldwide battle for its survival. As one of our leaders recently said about the coming negotiations to determine the fate of the devastated Vietnamese people: "You don't give away anything in advance."

John Ratté's book will probably not be widely read, which is a pity. He is a sensitive and wide-ranging historian, and he writes clear, crisp, and even elegant English. Most important of all, he has a good deal of light to shed on issues that face not only the Catholic Church, but all of us. As Simone Weil noted, organizations can deceive men, and institutions can relentlessly undercut their own avowed purposes. Ratté refers to "cycles of inspired revelation and legal calcification." And he notes that George Tyrrell wondered whether "if the old Churches reform themselves it will be . . . after first having crushed the reformers." Rather obviously Tyrrell's analysis could be applied to what has happened in Eastern Europe since 1945. Nor is Marx the only one who would shudder at what has been done in his name. A short while ago, the 125th Bulletin of the International Psychoanalytical Association published a letter from three world-famous psychoanalysts, entitled "The Open Window Policy in Psychoanalysis." The doctors prefaced their letter with the following quote: "We intend to let in a little fresh air." Those words, of course, were spoken by Pope John XXIII on April 8, 1963 – as the world's analysts were told, in case any of them hadn't known. The letter is a long and touching one, an appeal for freedom, a demand that punitive orthodoxy be ended. The point is made that too many laws, too many committees, rules and standards, indeed "the whole rigamarole of big business, the army and any bureaucracy," are killing the spirit of unfettered scientific inquiry, the spirit that characterized Freud's life.

So, there it is, or here we are. Every day the Catholic Church has to fight for its life, for the inspiration of its sacred writings, for the substance of its proclaimed truths, for the forgiveness and the redemptive grace it offers, in sum for the Holy Spirit. And every day death threatens, the kind Elizabeth Bowen called "the death of the heart," that Eliot called "the old miasmal mist," and John Ratté describes in the two words "legal calcification." Ratté's three modernists were caught up in that fateful struggle, as indeed – if we only knew it – all of us are in swinging, progressive, middle-class America. In the case of the modernists at least one of them, Tyrrell, knew what the fight was all about. I fear we need many more men like Ratté to remind us how secular, messianic faiths, in the name of any one of a hundred virtues, continue to make a mockery of man's fate on this planet.

"It is critically important for us to know whether violence is essential... or whether there are effective alternatives."

ABE FORTAS
Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court

CONCERNING DISSENT AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

A SIGNET SPECIAL BROADSIDE
Also in hardcover $4.00

50¢



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Domesticating Black Power

*by Simon Lazarus*

At first liberals were put off by Black Power. But, after a nervous pause, they domesticated Stokely Carmichael's brash slogan, and were then able to embrace it as their own. They simply ignored the innuendoes of separatist rebellion which the mass media found in the new militance, and which Carmichael and his comrades never quite rejected, gave black power a familiar, pluralist face, and interpreted it as a mandate for political organization by the Negro masses. In this guise, liberals have peddled black power, both to whites on their right and to blacks on their left.

*The Impossible Revolution: Black Power and the American Dream*
by Lewis M. Killian
(Random House; $5.95)
*Ready to Riot*
by Nathan Wright, Jr.
(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $4.95)
*Black Power and White Protestants*
by Joseph C. Hough, Jr.
(Oxford; $5.75)
*The Black Power Revolt*
edited by Floyd B. Barbour
(Porter Sargent; $5.95)

The upshot has been that liberals have come to believe their own propaganda. They do not take seriously the prospect of organized rebellion in the slums. True, liberal rhetoric often bristles with references to "explosion" or "catastrophe" or "race war" as the likely consequence of continued white intransigence. But these intimations of apocalypse are mere ritual. They conjure up a kind of secular hell, which will bring history to a stop and give to an immoral society just retribution for its sins. Convinced that black leaders *should* not adopt systematic violence as a tactic, liberals have assumed that they *will* not adopt it. (I am myself guilty of this kind of non sequitur. See my review in *The New Republic* of January 13, 1968 of *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* by Stokely Carmichael and Charles J. Hamilton.)

The problem with this comforting assessment is that it may be wrong. A hard look at the cities, both from a sociological and a military standpoint, and at the ideas current among some young Negroes, makes it seem at least possible that revolution will not always remain the empty rhetoric of would-be rebels. Lewis M. Killian has reached this conclusion, in his new book, the most substantial of the latest group of instant exegeses of black power. Killian concedes that white America could crush any black revolutionary movement. But, his argument runs, so what? – "That such a revolution might be attempted in the face of overwhelming odds and without regard to the terrible consequences is not at all impossible." Political organization, in the conventional, pluralist sense may *not*, Killian cautions, be the answer to the plight of the slums. What worked for the laboring masses in the 1930's may not work for the unemployed masses of the 1960's and 1970's. And, he continues, if black political organization proves a vain hope, black leaders may embrace revolution in spite of its apparent futility.

Killian relies on three projections, none of which is inevitable. But neither are they implausible.

First, he argues, politics may not work for black people, simply because they may face insuperable resistance from an implacable white majority. This point, often stressed by Stokely Carmichael in urging blacks to ignore the ballot, does not stand up well under analysis. In general, well-organized minorities do rather well in the American political system. Black political organizations would have tangible and weighty counters in negotiations for their constituency. They could greatly influence national and state-wide elections. In many places, they could control the machinery of local government altogether. Violence would always remain a useful background threat.

Furthermore, blacks would not face a rigidly hostile or united white majority. The forces which control American politics are not now and never have been united on issues pertinent to Negro interests. There is an awareness of the dimensions of the ghetto crisis in some important sectors of white America – in the universities, and among liberal politicians and business leaders. There would seem at least an even chance that disciplined political action could satisfy Negro demands for redistribution of wealth, opportunity, and power, to the same extent that such action did for the working classes during the New Deal.

But even if black power politics could be accepted by white society, might it not be rejected by slumdwellers themselves? This is Killian's second counterargument to those who bank on a political solution to the racial crisis. It seems a very good point. In Killian's words: "Gradualism is an inherent feature of a program of building a viable political coalition and then reforming a society through social engineering." To date, this dream has, with rare exception, failed in the Black South. In the urban slums it might do better. But Killian is on solid ground when he questions "whether Negroes could be mobilized for the long pull required to make them a decisive political power in the nation. Victories would not be quick and sure, and setbacks, such as those encountered in the November elections of 1966, would be recurrent."

Some may call this argument racist, in that it suggests Negroes are incapable of doing what other minorities

INTEGRATED HOUSING AS AN INVESTMENT

M-REIT MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

Objective: to invest in income-producing real estate in good neighborhoods and offer housing to all.

▶ Send for free prospectus.

Morris Milgram NR 6-8
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust
30 East 42 St., New York 10017

Name_____

Address_____

_____ Zip_____

This advertisement is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offering is made only by prospectus.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have done. But the argument goes to class, not race; it assumes that black slumdwellers are a *lumpenproletariat* which lacks the socialization to participate effectively in politics.

Liberals may be correct in counseling that traditional politics will be necessary to enact or control Community Action Programs. They may be naïve, however, to assume that traditional techniques will work in the ghettos, soon enough or on a wide enough scale, to retain the faith of black leaders in the prospect of liberation through political action. And if politics does fail, it is naïve to think that black leaders will simply try harder at the next election – or give up altogether their demand for social change.

Which brings us to Killian's final point. Black leaders, he says, may adopt a revolutionary strategy, even though that seems foolish and futile to their white (and black) liberal critics. He warns liberals not to assume that potential rebels are, like themselves, "peaceful secure men [who] look at conflict, particularly violent conflict, from a strictly utilitarian standpoint." Revolution, he says, is never viewed by its proponents simply as the pursuit of the material goals of politics by other means. After all, would Fidel Castro, Ahmed Ben Bella, or Thomas Jefferson for that matter, ever have got started if they had operated from any sort of "rational" assessment of the odds against them? What has been true of past revolutionaries may be true of black revolutionaries in the near future. They read Fanon, not Richard Neustadt.

To step beyond Killian's analysis, would revolutionary tactics necessarily be futile? Take a glance at Algeria, Cuba, China, or at any of the Third World lands where political violence has worked. Is it not clear that unorganized, alienated masses have typically been the base of the success of revolutionary elites? Even if they cannot be induced to vote in great numbers and with discrimination for their interests, might not slumdwellers nevertheless provide protection for terrorists? Might they not support and obey a charismatic leader who numbered various forms of violence among his repertoire of stratagems?

Indeed, this could become the story in any city in America. The critical variable will be the same everywhere – the allegiance of the ghetto poor. The government's superior fire-power will not conquer hearts and minds in Watts or the South Side of Chicago, any more effectively than it did in Vietnam. And once revolutionaries gain the power that comes from control over the black masses, it will largely be up to them how they exercise it. If they choose terrorism, its failure is not a foregone conclusion. How would white society respond? Genocide hardly seems likely to commend itself to most political leaders or most of the electorate.

Another alternative is apartheid, which would be extremely costly in dollars, in white comfort and in national self-esteem. A "rational" America would find it very difficult to use coercion on so drastic a scale, in response to ghetto rebellion.

A third alternative would be to bargain with the revolutionary elite, the course France chose in Algeria. Is it absurd for aspiring rebels to think that the United States might find it in its best interests to do the same?

At bottom, liberal scorn for rebellion as a strategic alternative for Negroes is a value-judgment. We have failed to distinguish between opposition to rebellion on the ground that it would not work, and opposition on the ground that even if it did, in some sense work, its yield would be worthless. For it is not inconceivable that black separatists could create some sort of geographically discrete reserve for black people, where their rule would be safe from internal and external challenge. For such a "victory," of course, blacks would have to trade much of what hopes they may have for gaining access to white resources needed to effect their social betterment. And that seems inconceivable. Yet to put the argument against violence in such terms places the white in an unhappy position of saying to the Negro, "You should value our money more than what you call your pride." Furthermore, even to admit that rebellion is a possibility makes it hard to laugh off conservative fears of black violence. So a benign version of black power continues to be put forward.

Two good examples of this are new books by Nathan Wright, who is black, and Joseph C. Hough, who is a white Protestant. Wright's book, *Ready to Riot*, is about Newark, where the author lives and works. It is a skillful appeal aimed principally at white business leaders, which marshalls appalling statistics about black deprivation, joblessness, and political impotence. It is a plea to the white power structure of Newark to change its ways before it is too late. Hough's book, *Black Power and White Protestants*, is subtitled "A Christian Response to the New Negro Pluralism" and is addressed to Protestant ministers and their parishioners.

A useful complement to secondary analyses of black power such as those by Wright and Hough is *The Black Power Revolt*, edited by Floyd B. Barbour, a compendium of pieces by contemporary black power advocates and some of their earlier antecedents. Barbour's book lacks coherence and a guiding commentary, but it offers a compact range of important sources, from Robert F. Williams' "Negroes with Guns," to the 1966 *New York Times* advertisement, "Statement by the National Committee of Negro Clergymen," which is among the most eloquent and subtle efforts to dispel white panic about black power.

***BOOK HUNTING?***

ANY BOOK LOCATED! No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! Write to—Dept. NEW

**BOOKS-ON-FILE**

Union City, New Jersey 07087

Salasacan tapestries
hand-knit sweaters
filigree jewelry
Cabuya handbags
Indian smocks

*. . . just a few of the fine handcrafted products available from*

**andean**

**box 472 • cuenca, ecuador**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Howe's Hardy

*by Lawrence Graver*

To do justice to Hardy – one of the most wildly uneven of the major English moderns – a critic needs poise, patience, and no particular ax to grind. Since Irving Howe has these virtues and others, his contribution to Macmillan's *Masters of World Literature Series* is as brisk and trustworthy a guide to the splendors and ruins of Wessex as one is likely to find anywhere.

Howe's first strategy is to borrow Hardy's belief that to know the better, one must take a steady look at the worst; and the worst is acknowledged here with insistent candor and wit. Nagging rhetoric, the clumsy promptings of fatality and circumstance, a weakness for the lurid and the pointlessly brutal, a desire to claim significance which stories have not earned – these are the weaknesses of all Hardy's books, and Howe refuses to dismiss them as trivial. But from start to finish his impulse is to explain why, despite these multiple failings, Hardy's books retain an undeniable currency and power.

*Thomas Hardy*
by Irving Howe
(Macmillan; $4.95)

The answer has less to do with Hardy's notorious world view (his fascination with Meliorism, Crass Casualty, and Imminent Will) than with his ability to recognize the special implications of his birth and longevity. If ever there was a transitional figure to please the reflective sort, it was Thomas Hardy.

At ten, Hardy had the chance to leaf through the first installments of *Vanity Fair* and *David Copperfield;* at twenty, of *Great Expectations.* At seventy-eight, he could (if he cared to) follow the early sections of *Ulysses* month by month in the *Little Review;* and at eighty-seven, a year before he died, he could read *Fiesta (The Sun Also Rises)* on its first appearance in England. Born into the expansive world of Victorian culture, Hardy grew old and died in Jake Barnes' milieu of balked aspiration and self-doubt; and one source of his genius is his ever-deepening awareness of the strengths and inadequacies of both worlds.

Behind much of what is valuable in Howe's account is this sense of double perspective. His opening chapter, "Background and Profile," neatly sketches the rural and cosmopolitan influences working simultaneously on Hardy's thought: the customs of antique Dorset on one hand, skeptical books by Huxley, Mill, and Spencer on the other; while his lengthy accounts of the major novels and poems are constantly enlivened by his effort to show Hardy brooding creatively on the ambiguous legacy of both the past and the present:

> "Hardy's mind had been unsettled by the intellectual dislocations of the nineteenth century, unsettled enough to lend a permanent touch of anxiety to his poems yet not enough to destroy his awareness of what it is that binds men together. Though he could understand and even share in the pain of deracination, he was never in danger of succumbing to it. The result is a poetry which at its best is knotted with the particulars of historical immediacy yet beautifully eased by the continuities of tradition. Without the sense that he was living through a major historical transformation, Hardy's poetry could sink, as in his second rank pieces it often did, to mere local detail and passive recording. Without the support of an inherited tradition, Hardy's poetry could sink, as again it often did, to the eccentricities of an autodidact, the provincialism of a man who had once been to the city."

Howe's other major concern is for Hardy's dramatic and descriptive gifts. Admitting the paradox that the man trained as an architect had a faulty sense of general design, Howe rejects ponderous, tragic and mythopoeic readings and points instead to those places in the poetry and fiction where a brief set of freshly recorded details brighten individual characters and whole areas of human life. He writes with enthusiasm about the narrative energy of *Far From the Madding Crowd,* and the unforgettable dimensions of Hardy's women: Tess, Arabella, Sue Bridehead. This emphasis on Hardy's talent for drama and description also allows Howe to perform the useful service of sorting out the bulk of the minor fiction. Without wishing to puff up deservedly forgotten novels, he can swiftly isolate the opening section of *Two on a Tower,* the "fine spray of malice" at the close of *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* or the occasional vignettes which sparkle in *The Trumpet Major.* Never forgetting that the neglect of Hardy's short stories is "not a scandal" but "merely a pity," he shapes a small pleasure anthology from books rarely read. From time to time, however, Howe's method yields diminishing returns. His chapter on *The Dynasts,* a thirteen-page catalogue of the poem's artistic and intellectual deficiencies, ends lamely with an effort to single out a handful of excellences, "warm ironic odd." Cold comfort, after the sustained quality of the demolition.

Only one important element in Hardy's temperament seems to my mind slighted here. Because Howe makes so much of Hardy's instinctive wisdom, his liberality and sympathetic imagination, he does not fully convey the gruesome gaiety of an undomesticated mind often nourished by violence and disaster. It was Hardy, after all, who liked to hold candles at an autopsy, visit lunatic asylums, and pick out hymns for the funerals of people he knew.

Once, while walking through a cemetery in his old age, he saw a coffin accidentally dropped, spilled open, and emptied of a body and two heads; later, he commented that the incident had just about made his day. And it is impossible to forget Mrs. Hardy's journal entry: Hardy "is now, this afternoon, writing a poem with great spirit; always a sign of well-being with him. Needless to say, it is an intensely dismal poem."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## DOCUMENTARY

# Good Question

Beginning with World War II, the Army training film has been the surest way to induce sleep since tne introduction of the testimonial dinner. Films on the danger of sunburn and the glories of the portable shower can still be relied upon to produce a good snooze, but a whole new generation of G.I. film makers, borrowing more from television documentaries than Hollywood movies, have upgraded the art and the best of their efforts by far is an opus entitled *Why Viet-Nam.*

Hollywood has begged off, so with the possible exception of John Wayne's forthcoming *Green Berets, Why Viet-Nam* may be the first and only pro-war film about Vietnam. The Army could hardly shirk the task, since it is an old failing of American soldiers to want to know why they are being asked to die. *Why Viet-Nam* is the official answer.

The film, a black-and-white production that is now being shown to reservists as well as inductees, opens with Johnson recalling the Munich agreement. As he speaks, scenes of marching storm troopers, a smiling Hitler, a jovial Mussolini and finally a downcast Chamberlain follow one another. The price of appeasement, a booming anonymous voice says, was World War II. "The lesson had been learned and President Johnson phrased it well. Aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed."

We then shift to Indo-China where the film says the French were fighting a coalition of nationalists and Communists. It is a single moment of truth that comes early and it tends to disarm the cynic. *Why Viet-Nam* (the hyphen is the Army's idea) then focuses on the battle for Dien Bien Phu where the French are defeated by the Communists (the nationalists have disappeared) and "the first of three Presidents" decides to aid the "free people of Vietnam."

Despite American aid, however, the entire French effort collapses and they are forced to sign the Geneva accord. We see the jubilant faces of Molotov and Chou En-lai. The narrator leaves little doubt that the Communists regard this pact as just another one to break – when the time is ripe.

That time soon arrives. "Free elections are held in the South alone," the narrator says, "and it becomes clear that the Communist regime in the North has no intention of holding free elections." The fact that South Vietnamese Premier Diem, backed by Eisenhower, refused to hold free elections is unmentioned. (Not all the reservists who saw the film when I did were unaware of this historical omission. One questioned the officer in charge who admitted that the film had "made a mistake.")

In the "free South," land reform and American aid help the Saigon regime to "prosper," while in the North more than one million Vietnamese desert the Hanoi government for, I suppose, the blessings of land reform and Southern hospitality. Guerrilla operations are soon begun by the Communists, because "South Vietnam is standing [like a domino] at the gateway to the rice-rich countries of Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma and East Pakistan."

Without giving proper credit to the late John Foster Dulles, *Why Viet-Nam* says, by way of illustration, that to the Communists "a grain of rice is worth a drop of blood." With that in mind, and because "we are committed to helping a free people retain their sovereignty," we decide, in 1961, to help them by sending military advisors.

There is a sub-plot, introduced appropriately enough, by Johnson. The Viet Cong "are guided by North Vietnam and supported by Communist China." Indeed, we see caches of Chinese rifles which are held aloft for the camera's inspection. Chinese characters are on the stocks of these weapons. No less a person than Secretary Rusk makes a short, cameo appearance: "The dedicated aim and purposes of Communist China remain the domination of Asia."

Meanwhile, more advisors are sent to Vietnam to help the "legitimate government," because "through kidnappings and forced service" the enemy manages to replenish his forces despite the valiant and cinematically-gripping efforts of the South Vietnamese Army. (No word about corruption, desertion or Diem.)

Finally, in August of 1964, the Communists go too far and attack our warships in the Gulf of Tonkin. Johnson comes on camera and says, "We want no wider war," and proceeds to widen the war. Peace is our aim, he says, but while he speaks a slyly-laughing Ho Chi Minh is drinking tea, in obvious disdain of the President's words.

"So the war goes on," the narrator says. "Clearly it is the Communists who have made that choice." The war *does* go on. We are shown the bloodied faces of US embassy personnel, victims of a sneaky Viet Cong attack. We see the terrible toll the enemy takes in soldiers and civilians. The footage elicits a strong reaction from a GI audience. The casualties are, after all, wearing the same uniform as the viewers.

The sinister oriental faces of Ho and Mao pop up, time after time, as if to mock the President's peace offers or American casualties. "As long," the voiced-over words of Johnson say while Ho and Mao are on screen, "as there are men who hate and destroy. . . ." But while the enemy is personified in this fashion, *Why Viet-Nam* identifies none of the South's leaders. With rare presence, the Army guessed that no single Vietnamese administration or leader would outlast the film's usefulness.

Well . . . why Vietnam? The answer, supplied by the President as the film closes is: "If freedom is to be preserved in any American town it must be preserved in South Vietnam."

Oh.

RICHARD M. COHEN

COMING

David T. Bazelon

reviews

*A Great Society?*

by Bertram M. Gross



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## TELEVISION

# Color Us Black

The people in the television business are ready for the summer: unmarked cars, memoranda advising restraint in using the word "riot," and so on. It's ironic: They have done almost nothing to lessen the possibility of riot and revolution.

Commercial TV has paid no attention to the counsels of the Kerner Commission. TV is, as the Commission noted, "the universal appliance in the ghetto" and is "mistrusted less than newspapers because ghetto residents believe that [it] at least lets them see the actual events for themselves." That is why the Commission urged TV to stop "tending to ignore the fact that an appreciable part of [its] audience is black." Television and the other mass media were reproved in the Report for "failure to report adequately on race relations and ghetto problems." What they must do, the Commission said, is "report the travail of our cities with compassion and in depth." The Commission noted that the media "had not communicated a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of living in the ghetto, nor a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being a Negro in the US, nor a sense of Negro culture, thought or history."

The only network planning anything remotely serious is CBS, which is making six documentaries, under the title *Of Black America*, for broadcast this summer. Richard Salant, president of CBS News, told me that the network decided to do something after a talk with the Kerner Commission in Poughkeepsie last November. "The most manageable thing," Salant said, "was to do a series on the black heritage." When I asked why CBS wasn't doing anything to restore dialogue between the races, Salant said dialogue "would harden positions [already taken], and be repetitious." "We want to get the unchurched," he added.

Now half a dozen documentaries on "the black heritage" are useful as background to the current crisis. But "adequate reporting," given the amount of public airtime a single network has available each week – 70 hours and more – would mean doing every week something on the scale attempted by two non-commercial stations in Wisconsin during the first week in May. For five nights running, they offered dialogues on ghetto problems, dialogues that were to have been between white officials and Milwaukee slum-dwellers, though few of the officials showed up. For once in the annals of TV, poor Negroes had an opportunity publicly to label the police chief (who didn't show) "a dictator." The angry voices reportedly had immediate effect: the day after a dialogue on housing in which Mrs. Vel Phillips, an alderman, had remarked that "this is truly going to be a hot, madder summer, and I plan to make it so," the Milwaukee Common Council passed a housing ordinance she had proposed months earlier.

The only way TV can be used to communicate with Negroes, or to communicate some of the realities of black America to whites, is to have Negroes do it themselves. For many reasons, commercial TV is unwilling to make any room for Negroes, beyond giving them isolated song-and-dance turns, second leads, and bit parts in entertainment shows. The networks are afraid of losing subscriber stations in the South, and, less obviously, of losing affiliate stations in the North as well. Part of the Great Fear clouding America is not only of what the militant blacks might do, it is the fear of every businessman-liberal that genuine advocacy of economic enfranchisement for the Negro might provoke reprisal by whites. No one seems to have any clear idea of how many whites would retaliate; vocal support for George Wallace or Richard Nixon is not a reliable measurement.

Nixon's policy of condescending to the backlash through advocacy of a "crime-in-the-streets" program is paralleled somewhere in the corporate recesses of the RCA company. The five television stations owned by RCA's network subsidiary, NBC, are going all out this month with dozens of programs on crime. Meanwhile, NBC has no serious plans for reporting the tensions between the races and the reasons for them. This fall it will produce for AT&T a series of programs on "the urban crisis," which one may safely assume will pussy-foot. (This past season AT&T sponsored a number of NBC documentaries on the world of the future: they were little more than swollen ads for the telephone companies, promises of a life made easier through electric communications, etc.) ABC is also doing a half dozen documentaries on race relations,

**Turns the wackiest state in the union inside out... blueprints the players and possibilities in the 1968 campaign–**

**DANCING BEAR**

**An Inside Look at California Politics by Gladwin Hill**

Discloses the existence of the "Capricious Million" who decide California elections. Explains how Ronald Reagan was actually elected by Democrats. Exposes the phoniness of the state's party conventions. Reveals unexplained aspects of Nixon's career that may rise up to haunt him in his Presidential quest.

$6.50 at all bookstores

WORLD PUBLISHING
TIMES MIRROR



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**A JOB'S IN THE BAG . . . BECAUSE IT'S HAND-CRAFTED IN A MISSISSIPPI COOPERATIVE**

Constructed of sturdy canvas, fully lined. Cheerfully red and blossoming with a sunflower of orange suede and felt. The generous size tote bag pictured here is 20" x 17½" ($9.95). Also available 16" x 14" ($6.50), and 11½" x 10½" ($4.50). All prices include postage and handling.

Canvas tote bags, and all other products from the Mississippi cooperatives, are available by mail order, or at LIBERTY HOUSE, 345 Bleecker St. or 2320 Broadway (corner of W. 84th St.), New York City.

**— — — mail order form — — —**

**Make checks payable to LIBERTY HOUSE, P. O. Box 3468, Jackson, Miss. 39203.**

Name .....

Address ..... City .....

State ..... Zip .....

☐ Please send me a mail-order-catalog

| Size | Quantity | Price |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |

Total enclosed $.....

two of them on Negroes in show business.

Tokenism continues. WNEW-TV New York, for example, runs two programs a week on events in Bedford-Stuyvesant. They are broadcast at seven in the morning.

Fear of backlash is not the only thing that's inhibiting broadcasters. The main reason is that it's difficult to get advertisers to back anything "controversial" – anything on which there are two or more opinions. (On May 15 NBC ran a documentary on cats and without waiting to hear any protests from dog-lovers quickly ordered and scheduled one on dogs.)

There's no way of forcing the networks and stations to do their duty, a duty that is all the greater *because* they are *mass media*. Some people, among them Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, prate about how "cultural democracy" determines programming. There are other responsibilities in a democracy beyond bowing to a fictive "majority will" based on the habits of consumers willing to service Nielsen devices in their homes.

Yet the shortcomings of commercial TV shouldn't lead one to despair over the possibilities of the medium for communication between black and white. This past season there has been serious reporting, at length and in depth, of race relations in this country on the Public Broadcast Laboratory and on the NET Journal series. On May 14, NET Journal offered a look at prejudice by bringing together for several days a dozen students of different races and letting them discover that for all their conscious liberal attitudes none of them was free from prejudice, whether ethnic, racial, or religious.

"Are you ready, nigger?" the Howard students chanted, toward the end of *Color Us Black*, an NET Journal broadcast of May 6, and then plunged into the refrain, "Beep-Beep! Bang-Bang! Ungawa! Black Pow-ah!" The documentary told of the Howard student uprising earlier this year, in which students voiced their refusal to be turned into "imitation white people" and spoke of their struggle to find a black identity.

A week earlier, NET Journal ran *Still a Brother*, a survey of the profound change in the thinking of middle-class Negroes since the early fifties, when E. Franklin Frazier published *Black Bourgeosie*. No longer "aping the surface values of the whites," as Frazier deplored, the middle-class Negro now identifies with the mass of poor blacks, to the point where, as Ralph Featherstone of SNCC remarked, "there is no Negro middle class."

On April 28, The Public Broadcast Laboratory resumed its account of the fortunes of Lewis Wilkins, a young Negro whose return from Vietnam had been chronicled in a PBL broadcast last December. Since then his family has been evicted from its new suburban house and has gone back to the old neighborhood to live crowded eight in one apartment, six sleeping in one room. In the film, made by William Jersey, an ironic impression of slum life was given through sequences edited to the rhythm of the accompanying song, James Brown's "It's a Man's World." At the end, Wilkins was driving a bus, and thinking he would have to keep on doing it for the rest of his life, "just to keep the white people off my back." That short film gave as good a glimpse of what life is like for the black man in the city as television has ever offered.

PBL started its first season last November with a confrontation between black militants and white liberals, an experiment that showed how psychically walled off the two races had already become. In the course of the winter, PBL ran an eloquent film on conditions in the Delta country of Mississippi, broadcast a live hook-up of police officials and Negro militants around the country, presented a close and rather frightening look at George Wallace, and carried an account of the Kerner Commission's Report. Then

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Leo Bersani *is the author of* Marcel Proust: The Fictions of Life and Art. Simon Lazarus *is a lawyer residing in Washington.* Lawrence Graver *is a member of the English department at Williams College.* Richard M. Cohen *will shortly be joining the staff of* The Washington Post. Ed Dowling *has written extensively on television and pop culture.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on April 17, PBL ran a long film in incomplete form, one it had planned to broadcast later in the year on the eve of The Poor People's March. To make it, Joseph Louw had lived for months in the entourage of Dr. King, filming the preparations for the march of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In the film one saw Dr. King as a man far more alive and witty than one would have expected from his public speeches and appearances.

PBL and NET have done what they could with resources far smaller than those of the commercial networks' news departments. Yet public TV, which has shown that it can eliminate the "communications blackout" in which most black communities have been left by white media, is encountering financial trouble in Washington. Two appropriations, one for $9 million to facilitate the work of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the other for $10 million to go to non-commercial station facilities, have been shelved by Congress until next year.

It has often been suggested that the creation of a fourth, non-commercial network with programming along the lines of PBL and NET, would relieve the commercial networks and stations of their statutory obligation to do "public service" programming. Not so, and certainly not now. Only commercial TV, the great addiction of the ghetto, far more extensive than booze or heroin or cocaine, can reach the ghetto this summer.

Ed Dowling

# Correspondence

*The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subject of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

## Keyserling Speaks

*Sirs:*

Arthur Schlesinger's reply two weeks ago barely touches the issues raised in my letter. I cannot follow his argument that counting how Negroes have voted recently shows the relative contribution of RFK and HHH to civil rights.

I criticized Schlesinger for abandoning Stevenson prematurely in 1960; his answer, that AES "never entered" the race, is a mere dodge. He forsook AES when many continued to support him, and he might even have won if more had done so; his name went before the Convention; Senator McCarthy made a passionate speech seconding his nomination. Schlesinger's excuse in 1960 was that he was "nostalgically for Stevenson, intellectually for Humphrey, and pragmatically for JFK" – just as now he has "pragmatically" shifted to RFK after pleading with ADA to endorse McCarthy.

I said that it was a "smear" for Schlesinger to indict Humphrey's 1966 call for a "Great Society" in Asia (as requisite to a generous and peaceful world) in the very sentence which indicts Humphrey's alleged attitude toward the Vietnam war. Schlesinger's amazing reply is that my "smear" charge was based upon the fact that he mistakenly attributed to Humphrey the call for a "Great Society" rather than a "New Deal" in Asia. The "smear" is precisely the same, whichever term Humphrey used. And when I compare this "smear" to Claire Booth Luce's remarks about "'globaloney' *circa* the Marshall Plan," Schlesinger replies that she made this remark not about *the* Marshall Plan, but rather about Henry Wallace's ideas for postwar economic aid. What earthly difference does this make, unless Schlesinger is defending Mrs. Luce instead of indicting Humphrey?

*Leon Keyserling*
*Washington, D.C.*

## Notes to Readers

The report by Philip Ben on "The Polish Purge" in our May 25, 1968 issue erroneously carried a Warsaw date line. Although Mr. Ben is an observer of and traveler to Eastern Europe, he was not in Poland when he wrote his article.

Further correction: Robert H. Bork, author of "Why I'm for Nixon" (*NR*, June 1) is professor of law at Yale.

Also, we remind readers that *The Draft*, published by Hill & Wang and reviewed in our May 18 issue, is available in paper cover at $1.25.

*The Editors*

## Kauffmann, *from page 26*

an opportunist don. Orson Welles plays a tycoon, floating about with uncomfortable ease in his present gross blimpish shape. A few days after seeing this film, I saw *Citizen Kane* again. It is to weep. Not because Welles has grown fat but because, in every important way, he has grown thin.

Worst for last. *The Swimmer* is a groaningly laborious morality play directed by Frank Perry and adapted by Eleanor Perry from a John Cheever story – not one of that gifted writer's better surgeries of the suburban soul. Burt Lancaster is a middle-aged suburbanite who turns up at a neighbor's swimming pool one day in trunks, swims the length, then decides to "swim home" – that is, walk to the next neighbor's pool, swim it, and so on until he reaches his home. Each house and pool represent an aspect of his past, and the aggregate is a clotted example of a-life-in-one-day idea.

The Perrys, who made *David and Lisa*, showed subsequently in *Ladybug, Ladybug* that they are vulnerable to pretentiously simple symbolism, and they show it again here. To Cheever's clumsy artifice, Mrs. Perry has added a phony sequence with a girl. (Why, by the way, don't the friends around the very first pool recognize – or convey to us – that Lancaster is out of his mind? He is no less nutty there than later, when it *is* revealed.) To the script's creakiness, Perry has added direction that, in fluency and imagination, is far below the level of some student films that I have seen. The best scene, which involves an ex-mistress, was not even directed by Perry, according to the *National Observer* (May 20). Sydney J. Pollack shot the scene long after Perry had finished the film, replacing the actress whom Perry had used and changing the dialogue.

Lancaster, who is supposed to be a Madison Avenue smoothie, looks and sounds like a longshoreman at a union picnic. The theme once more is corruption and the world's corrosion of ideals, and once again the treatment is pat and silly. The Perrys pump hard to keep *The Swimmer* afloat, but, confidentially, it sinks.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## PERSONALS

"DOLLARS FOR McCARTHY": No primary in your state? Vote with a DOLLAR—it WILL count! McCarthy, Box 2175, Brockton, Massachusetts 02401.

TIRED OF CONGRESSMAN CHAMBERLAIN? Support candidate for peace and equality. Contributions: James Harrison for Congress, 412 Marshall, East Lansing, Michigan.

WHAT CAN I DO? Use your purchasing power to promote racial justice. Enclose one of our "We Support Equal Opportunity" slips with each check you mail. Takes little time – powerful effect possible. 150/$2. Suggestions for use included. Organizational inquiries invited. Palisadians for Equal Opportunity, 16332 Akron, *Pacific Palisades, Calif. 90272.*

MATURE ENGLISHWOMAN, 25 years in US, knowledgeable antiques, interior decorating, bookkeeping, writing experience, desires interesting part-time position. New England. Box 3025, New Republic.

OUR ATHLETIC DIRECTOR GROWS HIS OWN FOOD, skis to work, and doesn't believe in football. Our students do their own things, too. So can you—if you can hack it. Admissions, NR, Franconia College, Franconia, N.H. 03580.

INTERESTED IN LIFE? Believe men should live each day to the fullest? So do humanists. For information, write: Dept. NR-1, American Humanist Association, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, Calif. 94121.

IF YOU BELONG TO THAT NEGLECTED AGE GROUP, 40-60, and if you live in the NYC area, and if you are occasionally lonesome and would enjoy intelligent stimulating companionship, write to TWOgether Associates, Dept. NR, 38 East 57 St., New York City.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 8-6, 79 Wall Street, NYC.

MONEY – SPARE-TIME OPPORTUNITY. We pay cash for nothing but your opinions, written from home, about samples of our clients' products. Nothing to sell, canvass or learn. NO SKILLS; NO EXPERIENCE. Just honesty. Details from: RESEARCH 669, Mineola, N. Y. 11501. Dept. GW-21.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write: OPERATION MAZELTOV, 550 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10036.

"PROTEST WITH DISTINCTION"; Controversial underground bumper stickers. Free list: Dealers inquire. SNICKER STICKERS, Box 4243, Hollywood, Florida 33023.

THERE IS A RADICAL BUTTON MAKER! All sizes, shapes, colors. Free estimates. 25c brings price lists and samples. Larry Fox, Box 581-N, Hempstead, N. Y. 11551.

BUTTONS, PEACE JEWELRY, POSTCARDS, POSTERS, psychedelia, etc. Off beat merchandise. Wholesale to all. 10c brings our unique catalogue air mail. FREE SPEECH INC., 28 St. Marks Place., NYC 10003.

HOW TO BE THE PERSON YOU WANT TO BE! Overcome personality probems, insomnia, overweight, etc. Free literature. SELF-REALIZATION *CENTER*, Box 393-C, N.Y. 10003.

FOR EVERYONE who cares about good government: "THE REAL RONALD REAGAN." Send $1.00: Reagan Book, Box B, Diamond Heights Station, San Francisco, Calif. 94131.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STICKERS, Custom-made, low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, Political Campaigns, Slogans School Projects, Business, Theatrical Productions, Tourist Attractions, Motels, Resorts, and Drive-Ins. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please State Intended Use. Reflective Advertising, Inc., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

MALE/FEMALE—PN or equivalent for young, male paraplegic whose work is in the theater. A permanent home, interesting environment and comparable pay, beginning July 1. Write: A., 142 Hubinger, New Haven, Conn.

SILENCE TV COMMERCIALS. "Do-it-yourself" instructions 25c; complete kit $2.00. THE SILENCER, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley, Cal. 94701.

KING-SIZE BUMPERSTRIPS – "RFK in '68," "McCarthy in '68," "Reagan & Lassie in '68," "Melt General Hershey," "Studying Causes Cancer"; 2/$1, 5/$2, 15/$5. TOPP, P.O. Box 1802, Chicago, Ill. 60690.

COMPUTER DATING SERVICE for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 20-N, Peabody, Mass. 01960.

*SNOOPY FOR PRESIDENT* – 249 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/$1, 50/$5, 125 $10 and 1,000/$75. Free catalogue. Stores: Free sample! Big Little Store, 1671 Washington, San Francisco 94109.

PHYSICIANS! SCIENTISTS! ENGINEERS! We invite all concerned citizens to join us in support of Senator Eugene McCarthy for President. Your contribution and your participation are urgently needed. Contributors of $10.00 or more will receive 2 "Scientists and Engineers for McCarthy" bumper stickers. Scientists and Engineers for McCarthy, National Headquarters, 827 No. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

BUMPER STICKERS: "KENNEDY" or "NIX-on NIXON." Choice of 2/$1.00. Usen Enterprises, Box 3471, Glendale, California 91201.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book, $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities. Includes "Directory of American Companies Overseas," and special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.50, plus 50¢ postage/handling. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, N.Y. 11730.

## LITERATURE

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS – All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

SOCIALIST BOOKS – Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

"DADDY, WHAT'S A RIOT"—Buy two, one for friends to steal. Send $1.00 to Gadfly Press, 5225 Cornelius, Indianapolis, Indiana.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN TEACHING—providing a forum for outspoken opposition to stultifying undergraduate teaching. Four issues: $4.00. Sample: $1.25. Bowling Green University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

RACISM—Philadelphia's Main Line, 36-page photographic essay, pamphlet $1.00. Mouban Publications, 630 Timber Lane, Devon, Penna. 19333.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 8623N Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

FREE PAPERBACK LISTS. Write, inquire how thousands save! PAPERBACKS, HARDBOUNDS, RECORDS. New York Book, 4 A West 43rd Street, NYC 10036.

MODERN LEADER examines How to Christianize world. Introductory letter—Art and Revolution—$1.00. Portable Playhouse, Dept. ML, P. O. Box 5922, Chicago, Illinois 60680.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## EMPLOYMENT

MEDICAL STUDENT (Cornell) seeks summer job. Anything interesting, unusual, anywhere. Howard Freed, 445 E. 69th St., N.Y.C. 10021.

WANTED: Manager for ghetto bookstore now being planned. Management experience necessary. Imaginative readiness to respond to community needs. Write David Harre, Alley Library, 1831 Kalorama Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. (202) 483-9458.

M.A. IN PHILOSOPHY. Two years as teaching assistant. Desire teaching or whatever. P. O. Box 823, Goleta, California 93017.

WRITERS—N.Y. publisher wants books on all subjects, fiction, nonfiction. No fee for professional opinion. FREE: Brochures that show how your book can be published, publicized, sold; contracts. Write Dept. 107, EXPOSITION PRESS, INC., 386 Park Avenue So., New York, N.Y. 10016.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. $1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 00802.

MANUSCRIPT IN TROUBLE? Pro Writer-Editor Aids Writers in Revising Mss. for Publication. French-English. Box 455, New Republic.

YOUNG MAN, B.A. REED COLLEGE 1967 (English, Mathematics) seeks training in business management. Small company preferred. Write L. Smith, c/o 130 Rivoli St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117.

DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHER working in mountains seeks photo assignments in eastern Kentucky. Write: J. Martin, Hyden, Ky. 41749.

GENERAL RESEARCH ASSIGNMENTS conducted by research specialist. Quick, accurate, reliable. Moderate rates. Lawrence Sork Jr., 239 South Bristol, Los Angeles, Calif. 90049.

## SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

PERRY STREET KIDS SCHOOL. Open year-round for children whose parents are fundamentally in agreement with the writings of A. S. Neill, John Holt, Paul Goodman, and others. Interracial. International. Optional sleepover arrangements. Bill Pigman, Su Negrin, 156 Perry St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (212) 255-6614.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTER, Conway, N.H. For a rare combination of recreation, dialogue and conferences on international and domestic problems.

ARTHUR MORGAN SCHOOL, Burnsville 2, N.C. –Grades 7, 8 and 9. Co-educational, informal, non-competitive. Work-study program. Liberal Quaker leadership.

## VACATIONS/TRAVEL

YUCATAN-OAXACA-MEXICO CITY: 17 economical anthropological days. August. Write Airmail: Apartado 324, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico.

INEXPENSIVE FAMILY EDUCATION—Vacation in the Rockies. Exciting adult and children's programs. One-week sessions from June 23 through August 25. Write: Director, Summer Family Program, Colorado Alpine College, Steamboat Springs, Colorado 80477.

"AMERICA BY CAR" lists scenic routes, parks, historical sights. Tells where to eat and stay. 170,000 WORD BOOK (equivalent to 3 novels). Ideal reference book. Only $2.50. ALAINE, Dept. C, 2301 West Olive, Burbank, California 91506.

CANOE TRIPS OUTFITTED. Everything furnished, $7.50 daily. Beautiful wilderness country. Free information: Border Lakes (NR), Box 569, Ely, Minnesota 55731.

NATURAL SEACOAST CAMPING – Mile of beautiful shoreline 3 hours from Boston in historic area near Audubon Sanctuary – warm swimming, hiking, birding, fishing – 70 roomy campsites for tents / trailers (no hookups). RECOMPENSE CAMPSITES, Burnett Road, Freeport, Maine 04032.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

DRIVE TO MEXICO. You'll need special Mexican auto insurance. When you buy your coverage from Sanborn's, you get a big free bonus – Dan Sanborn's famous mile-by-mile road direction "logs" to follow your very own itinerary, plus latest info on highways and accommodations. Write for free "Trip Planner" packet – very helpful. SANBORN'S, McAllen, Texas 78501.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE – $1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-20JAU, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

## PROPERTY – Sale/Rent

OUTSTANDING CALIFORNIA LAND INVESTMENT. $15,000 waterfront lot at beautiful Salton Sea. Best offer cash or coins for $8,000 equity. Butterfield, Box 2026, Arlington, Virginia 22202.

CAYMAN BRAC, B.W.I.—Summer on the Island that Time Forgot makes sense—low off season rates, delightful trade wind climate, excellent beaches, fishing, exploring and skin diving. Easily and inexpensively reached via Miami or Kingston. Estate sized homesites, 2½ acres, with 200 feet frontage on the Caribbean Sea available under $10,000. For more information, write Box 3020, New Republic.

WHITE, BLACK, PURPLE, GREEN . . . In Cincinnati's beautiful, integrated neighborhood of Kennedy Heights, it's character that counts, not color. In this Northeast Cincinnati suburb, we enjoy two wooded parks, excellent schools, city services, good transportation, friendly neighbors. For housing information write Kennedy Heights Community Council, 3738 Davenant Avenue, Cincinati, Ohio 45213.

EAST HAMPTON—Charming one-bedroom cottage on Georgica Pond available for season to October. $2,000. John Westergaard (212) 425-8484.

## ARTS AND CRAFTS

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R. Cuenca, Equador.

ORIGINAL LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Send 50c for illustrated catalogue. George N. Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael and Soyer, from $10. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6A, 605 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10017.

## MUSIC

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

ENJOY HUMOR, MUSIC, SATIRE? All three perceptively combined in recent West Coast FM program series. Rare opportunity to obtain the hour program, most relevant this election year, entitled: "SOME NOTES (mostly musical) ON AMERICAN POLITICAL HYSTERI(A). From the Boston Tea Party to Adlai Stevenson with song quality no more uneven than our elected officials (Samuel J. Tilden's campaign song is a catastrophe of classic proportions)." Special introductory offer: $4.95 for broadcast quality tape plus list of other programs. Mensana, P. O. Box 10355 (R), Alexandria, Virginia 22310.

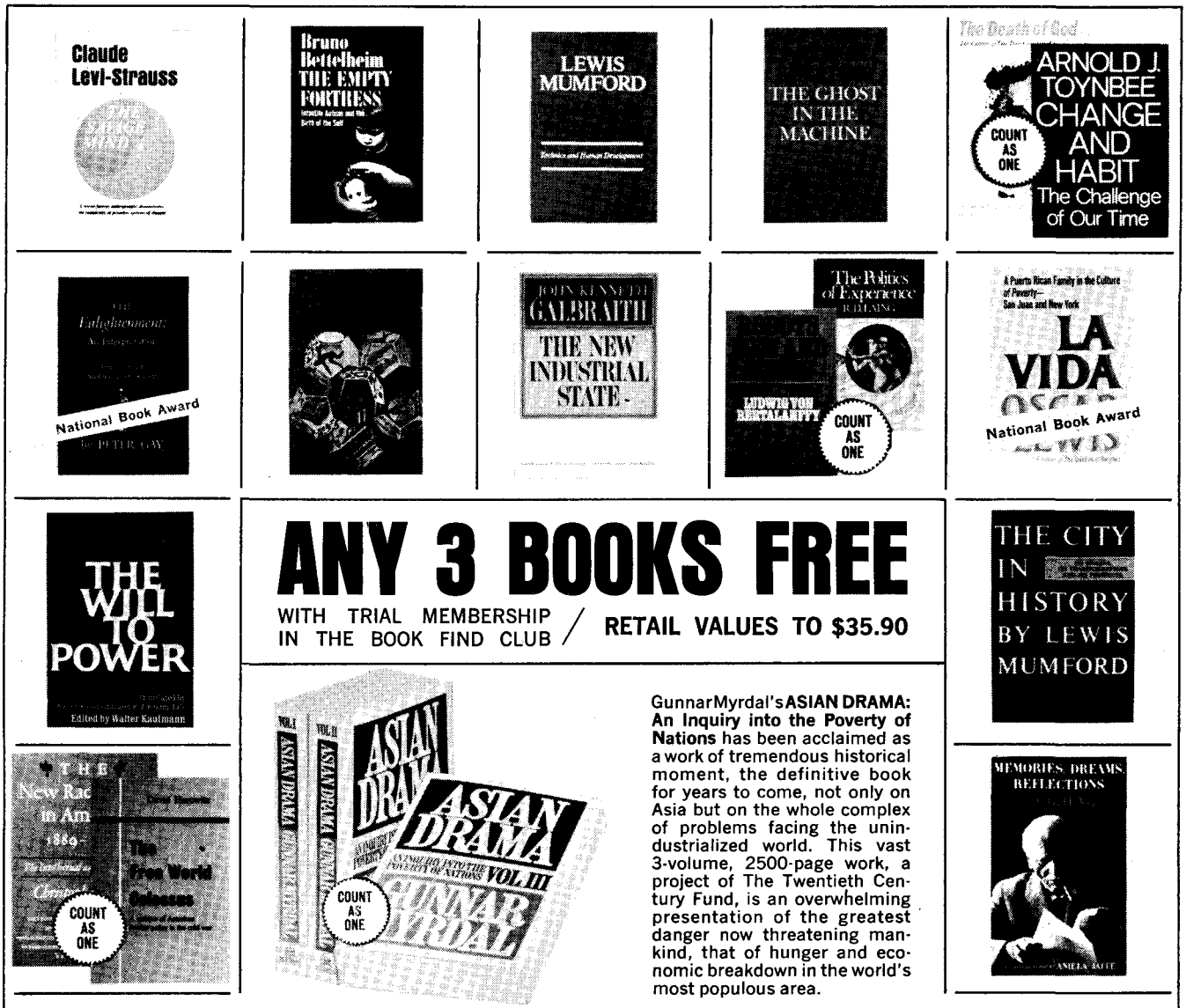
"JERUSALEM CALLING"—charming LP record produces vivid picture in song and sounds of Jerusalem today. ". . . you are in the heart of Jerusaem."—JERUSALEM POST. $4.95 check or money order. Alexander Productions, 6920 South Shore, Chicago, Illinois 60649.

IF IT'S RELIABLE and sounds beautiful, it's a Sabathil harpischord from Vancouver, Canada.

Printed By The McCall Printing Co.
Mid-Atlantic Division



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

WITH TRIAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE BOOK FIND CLUB / **RETAIL VALUES TO $35.90**

Gunnar Myrdal's **ASIAN DRAMA: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations** has been acclaimed as a work of tremendous historical moment, the definitive book for years to come, not only on Asia but on the whole complex of problems facing the unindustrialized world. This vast 3-volume, 2500-page work, a project of The Twentieth Century Fund, is an overwhelming presentation of the greatest danger now threatening mankind, that of hunger and economic breakdown in the world's most populous area.

**Choose any 3 selections FREE with your first selection at the special members' price (regardless of retail price).**

386 — **Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations,** by Gunnar Myrdal. 3 volumes, paperbound, 2500 pages, 5⅛" x 8". *Retail $8.50* ..... Members' Price $6.50

373 — **The New Industrial State,** by John Kenneth Galbraith. *Retail $6.95* ..... Members' Price $5.50

371 — **The Empty Fortress,** by Bruno Bettelheim. *Retail $9.95* ..... Members' Price $7.50

374 — **The Savage Mind,** by Claude Levi-Strauss. *Retail $5.95* ..... Members' Price $5.25

369 — **The Myth of The Machine,** by Lewis Mumford. *Retail $8.95* ..... Members' Price $5.95

907 — **The New Radicalism in America,** by Christopher Lasch; and **The Free World Collossus,** by David Horowitz. *Combined Retail $13.90* ..... Members' Price $6.95

914 — **The Politics of Experience,** by R. D. Laing; and **Robots, Men and Minds:** *Psychology in the Modern World,* by Ludwig von Bertalanffy. *Combined Retail $9.95* ..... Members' Price $5.95

381 — **Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling,** by Suzanne K. Langer *Retail $10.00* ..... Members' Price $6.95

380 — **The Will to Power,** by Friedrich Nietzsche. New translation by Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale. *Retail $10.00* ..... Members' Price $6.95

364 — **La Vida:** *A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty,* by Oscar Lewis. *Retail $10.00* ..... Members' Price $6.95

362 — **The Enlightenment:** *The Rise of Modern Paganism,* by Peter Gay. *Retail $8.95* ..... Members' Price $5.95

356 — **On Aggression,** by Konrad Lorenz. *Retail $5.75* ..... Members' Price $4.95

352 — **Freedom in the Modern World,** by Herbert J. Muller. *Retail $10.00* ..... Members' Price $5.95

361 — **Leonardo Da Vinci,** ed. by Morris Philipson. Illustrated. *Retail $8.95* ..... Members' Price $5.95

359 — **Love's Body,** by Norman O. Brown. *Retail $5.95* ..... Members' Price $4.95

385 — **The Ghost in the Machine,** by Arthur Koestler. *Retail $6.95* ..... Members' Price $5.50

276 — **The City in History,** by Lewis Mumford. *Retail $11.50* ..... Members' Price $6.95

312 — **Memories, Dreams, Reflections,** by Carl G. Jung. *Retail $7.50* ..... Members' Price $5.95

365 — **Thomas Woodrow Wilson:** *A Psychological Study,* by Sigmund Freud and William C. Bullitt. *Retail $6.00* ..... Members' Price $4.95

912 — **Change and Habit:** *The Challenge of Our Time,* by Arnold J. Toynbee; and **The Death of God:** *The Culture of Our Post Christian Era,* by Gabriel Vahanian. *Combined Retail $10.50* ..... Members' Price $6.95

**SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE:** The books pictured here are all offerings of The Book Find Club, representative of the Clubs policy during the past 25 years of bringing to its members the best books at substantial savings. Wherever your interests lie—in the social sciences, religion, history, philosophy, psychology, art, anthropology, or current affairs—you will benefit from your membership in The Book Find Club. It is a rewarding way for every literate person to remain aware of and to acquire books of enduring value—books to be cherished as important additions to your personal library.

**MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS INCLUDE:** Savings up to **60% off** retail on important books you want to read and own • **Special offers** which enable you to obtain free books • Authoritative reviews of the current selections in your copy of *The Book Find News* • A **bonus plan** that lets you choose a free book for each three you buy as a regular member. Why not insure yourself against ever again missing the books you really want to read and own. Start your membership **today** by choosing any three of the books pictured above **free** with your first selection.

**Book Find Club** One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

You may enroll me as a trial member in Book Find Club and send me the 3 FREE BOOKS indicated by number below.

FREE BOOKS

First Selection

At the same time, send me the book indicated by number in this box to count as my first membership selection. Regardless of regular retail price, you will bill me only the special members' price plus a small charge for postage and handling.

My only obligation is to purchase four more of the many outstanding books to be offered to me in the coming year at members' prices that will often save me as much as 60% off retail. Then, as a regular member, I will be able to choose one book FREE for each three I buy.

Name (Please print plainly)

Address

City

State Zip B68-6NK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED